

Africa Digest

MAY-JUNE 1958

Volume V No. 6 Annual Subscription Twenty-five Shillings

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Published by The Africa Bureau

65 Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.1. (Tate Gallery 0701)

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CENTRAL AFRICA The Federation

Future of the Federation?

IN the course of his election campaign¹ Sir Edgar Whitehead, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, said that unless the different races in the Federation learned to work together Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland might be lost to Native nationalism and Southern Rhodesia might have to seek the shelter of South Africa. (*Pretoria News*, April 17, 1958.)

On May 1, 1958, Sir Roy Welensky said: "I notice that once again, in a somewhat different dress, the old cry of breaking up the Federation into Black and White States has reappeared. The Dominion Party has made it clear that it is willing to see Nyasaland and parts of Northern Rhodesia become a Black State, with both the United Kingdom and the Federal Governments having a say in the affairs of that State. I have always maintained that independence for the Federation, at least to me, means the withdrawal of the Colonial Office from exercising any administrative control in any part of the Federation. The Dominion Party do not hold that view. I hold the view that any safeguard that it may be necessary to give the United Kingdom can be done by way of treaty between the United Kingdom and Federal Governments. From the foregoing it must be obvious to all that the Federal Party and the Dominion Party differ on fundamentals, and agreement is therefore not possible." (*Federal Newsletter*, May 10, 1958.)

Premier Warns of Russian Menace

The Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, said, in an urgent warning to the Western Powers, that, apart from the oil of the Middle East, the mineral and other resources of undeveloped Africa formed the greatest prize now offering in the world, and the Russians knew it. He went on: "I warn South Africa and the Federation that the Soviet is already trying to establish itself in an area of Africa well within flying range of the Federation's borders. . . .

"The Soviets have already paid their addresses to Somalia—a country in a vital strategic position for us—against the time of Somali Independence, probably next year.

"I do not think that it is sufficiently appreciated by the Powers in, or interested in Africa, nor by the United States of America, what is happening on this continent, and the extent by which Russia is looking to African nationalism as the prerequisite for revolution," he said. "One has only to look at the Middle East and at the northern part of Africa to see the ramifications of their policy. Nasser is going to Moscow, and a delegation is going to the Kremlin from Morocco. Russia will take every possible step to stir up the Non-European peoples of the African continent against the West and the stakes are high."

Communism had learnt one of the cardinal lessons for fomenting revolution among backward people, Sir Roy said, to encourage nationalism as a first step towards severing their ties with the Western world. Once that had been achieved the next step was inevitable—the new emergent States produced by African nationalism needed capital and skill—and the new Communist imperialism was always willing to provide these at a cost not always apparent at the time. . . .

¹DIGEST V, 5.

The countries with a stake in Africa could not afford to let Russia wrest the initiative from them. They must not lack in resolution. In Africa's state of transition, the maintenance of law and order was of vital importance, and what happened in one state affected another. Problems affecting law and order had to be dealt with firmly otherwise not only was "credit-worthiness" affected, but the door was left open for world communism either directly or indirectly. (*Rhodesia Sunday Mail*, April 20, 1958.)

In a letter to the *Western Daily News* referring to this statement Mr. Arthur Glass said: "It is a pity that Sir Roy fails to realize that it is people like himself and Mr. Strydom who are causing Africans to feel that, despite their antipathy to communist political theory and practice in most fields, the Kremlin may be their best hope of deliverance from the indignities of the 'colour bar' and the ruthless exploitation of their labour by White settlers. . . . I suggest in all seriousness to Sir Roy Welensky that he could, with great advantage to the free world, look much nearer home than Moscow for some of the reasons which threaten to throw a good many intelligent and educated Africans into Mr. Krushchev's arms."

No Legal Action

Sir John Moffat, chairman of the African Affairs Board, announced that he had decided not to appeal to the Federal Supreme Court against the passing by the Assembly of the Constitution Amendment Act and the Electoral Act.

During the closing stages of the debate on the Electoral Bill Sir John announced that he would seek advice as to whether the measures should be contested in the Federal Supreme Court.¹ He said that, on legal advice he had received, it was "most unlikely that any such appeal would succeed". He had therefore decided not to take any further action in this matter, although he still considered the two Acts to be discriminatory. Sir John emphasized that this was a personal decision.

Labour Party Statement on Federation

Approval given by the Government to the Constitutional Amendment Bill and the Electoral Bill recently passed by the Rhodesian Federal Parliament was deplored in a statement issued by the Labour Party. If Federation is to endure the Labour Party believed that concrete proof must be given to the African people that the principles of the preamble are in fact being operated and they therefore called for the following steps: (a) an unequivocal statement that the objective of the Federation is complete democracy and equal rights for every citizen; (b) the revision of the Federal franchise to ensure genuine African representation in the Federal Parliament; (c) the rapid elimination of racial discrimination in both social relations and industry; (d) the extension to other levels of education of the inter-racial policy now being developed in the university. "It will be by reference to the progress made in these matters", said the statement, "that the Labour Party will decide its attitude at the conference which is to review the future of the Federation in 1960. . . .

"To enable African views to be more effectively expressed at the conference and as a step towards full democracy, the Labour Party believes that Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland must now be given opportunities for much greater participation in their governments. To this end it urges immediate constitutional reforms to ensure a majority of elected Africans in the Nyasaland Legislative Council and the appointment of African Ministers equal in number to those of other races. In Northern Rhodesia there should be a parity of representation between Africans and

¹DIGEST V, 4.

other races in both the Legislative and Executive Councils. Labour also believes that the franchise in both territories should be broadened immediately, as an instalment of progress towards a common roll and full adult suffrage."

The Prime Minister's Reply

Sir Roy Welensky attacked the Labour Party in a speech on May 1, 1958. He said the Labour Party had "undermined the traditional respect for law which used to exist in all the states comprising the Federation, and is creating racial antagonism". The Labour Party was responsible for "such quite unrealistic claims as cries for the removal of Nyasaland from the Federation. . . ." If it was the intention of the Labour Party—or any other party—to inflict the half-baked ideas propounded in the Party's recent statement on the Federation, it must accept full responsibility for what might follow. Was it the intention of the Party to hand the African people of the Federation over to a handful of power-hungry African politicians? "I ask this question because the Labour Party should realize that the majority of these gentlemen would not be able to make a success of a village management board, never mind the complicated machine which makes up a modern State. . . ."

"The statement by the national executive committee of the Labour Party demonstrates something I have always known, namely, that its colonial policy when in opposition indicates that it has both feet firmly implanted in mid-air. Yet when in office it has shouldered responsibility. After all, it was in the main responsible for the creation of the Federation, much as they now desire to deny paternity."

The statement of the National Executive of the Labour Party could not be ignored, as an example of ignorance. The Party had deplored the approval given by the Conservative Government to the Constitution Amendment and Electoral Bills. The Party was fully aware that these were agreed legislation. The Labour Party had said it had always been willing to make the Federation work, provided that it established a genuine racial partnership. "This is pure sophistry," Sir Roy said. "Nothing could be further from the truth. All its actions since Federation came about have had the effect of hindering the Federation from working, either by design or from ignorance. I don't think this statement could be disputed by anybody with any experience of this part of the world. . . ."

"While we are striving with all our might to foster partnership and co-operation, there can be no doubt that elements in the Labour Party are doing their best to foster dissension and non-co-operation." The Labour Party had called for complete and equal rights for every citizen in the Federation; a revision of the franchise to ensure genuine African representation in Parliament; the elimination of racial discrimination in both social and industrial fields; and an extension of inter-racial education. Sir Roy said the Labourites had said that according to the progress made in these matters, the Party would decide its attitude at the 1960 conference. He said that African education was left to the Territories, so what the Labour Party suggested was *ultra vires* the Federal Constitution. In saying that all the inhabitants of the Federation should express their desire for independence, the Labour Party spokesmen "really surpass themselves". The only way this unanimity could be achieved would be by a Soviet-style election, where the votes did not usually exceed 99.6 per cent, "which presumably would be satisfactory to the authors of this document". A reasonable case would be presented at the 1960 London conference. "But I must make it quite clear that we have no intention of lowering our standards of civilization," he said. (*Federal Newsletter*, May 10, 1958.)

New Committee Formed

A Rhodesia and Nyasaland Committee has been formed in London with the object of publicizing developments in the Federation and of generally furthering its interests.

The director, Mr. G. H. Baxter, a former Assistant Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, said: "Our attitude is that we shall strongly oppose anything that may tend to break up the Federation. We shall work for the encouragement of the principle of partnership, applied in a liberal, but at the same time, realistic spirit."

Many people in Britain tended to confuse the Federation with the

Union of South Africa and assumed that the race policies being applied in the Federation are the same as those of the Union. This is one of the misunderstandings which the Committee will work to clear up, said Mr. Baxter. The chairman of the new Committee is Mr. J. Thompson, head of the Rhodesian department of the Rhodesian Selection Trust in London. The treasurer is Mr. H. St. L. Grenfell, an executive director of the British South Africa Company. Other members of the Committee include two former British Cabinet Ministers—Lord Coleraine and Earl de la Warr—a former British colonial governor, Lord Milverton, and Lord Sinclair of Cleve, chairman of the Imperial Tobacco Company. (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 20, 1958.)

In his statement to stockholders of the Imperial Tobacco Company, the chairman, Lord Sinclair of Cleve said: "We have faith in the Federation and in its future. I do not myself think that it would be an exaggeration to describe it as the keystone of the Commonwealth arch today. I have no doubt that those who are in charge of affairs in the Federation are sincere and determined in their efforts to achieve real partnership between the Europeans and the Africans and realize that it is only on that basis that the Federation can endure. It is difficult for people in this country to judge the pace at which that development should best proceed, but it is clear that the recent proposals for the enlargement of the electorate, having regard to the conditions and the state of development in Central Africa, constitute a distinct advance."

University Entrance

At the University College in Salisbury of the 124 new students, 101 are European (sixty-one men and forty women). There are nineteen Africans (seventeen men and two women), three Indian men and one Coloured woman. In addition, there are thirty-seven second-year students.

A sports fixture has been arranged with the Université Officielle du Congo Belge et du Ruanda-Urundi. (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 11, 1958.)

Colour Bar

The *Central African Examiner* (March 15, 1958) called the colour bar in Southern Africa "an anachronism in the twentieth century". "It is bad for the Europeans, who are brought up to consider the possession of a white skin as a sign of superiority and a passport to automatic success in life; it is bad for the Non-Europeans, who, continually humiliated and degraded as they are, develop an inferiority complex which spells grave danger for the very existence of our civilization; and it has already done incalculable harm to international relations. . . ."

"In the Federation (in spite of five years of 'partnership') as well as in the Union, Africans, Asians, and Coloureds, are denied (largely) the vote, admission to public places of entertainment, hotels and restaurants, access to most forms of alcoholic refreshment, and freedom of movement. Admittedly, a strong case can be made for some of these disabilities, in the case of uncivilized Africans. But the crucial point is that all Africans, all Asians and all people of colour, are lumped together in the time-honoured style of the old Boer republics. Anyone with a dark skin—whether he be an Indian maharajah, a Nigerian emir, or an American Negro doctor of philosophy—can be unceremoniously ejected from an hotel or the lounge of an airport which carries international traffic.

There were encouraging signs of a change of attitude but more such change was needed. In addition, existing customs and legislation must be changed, and quickly. The parrot cry "We are going too fast" must be discouraged. Facts have to be faced.

Plan for Agriculture

In collaboration with Professor Sir Frank Engledow of Cambridge University the Federal standing committee on agricultural production has issued a report covering the whole range of agricultural production in the three territories. Among its recommendations are: that the Government should give further consideration to the possibility of subsidizing the local production of nitrogen; that all good agricultural land lying wholly or partially undeveloped should be developed as rapidly as possible; that with State-provided capital strictly limited, its partition between peasant or

small-scale and large-scale agriculture requires careful study; that detailed study of the changing food consumption trends of the African is required; that no obstacle should be allowed to impede the voluntary and permanent resettlement of families from overpopulated African areas into other agricultural areas or the industrial and urban centres; that periodical re-examination should be made of the economic viability of holdings in African areas; that for both sociological and economic reasons the allocation of resources to the development of the larger type of African farms, as opposed to the ordinary run of smallholdings in the African area, needs fresh thought; that the problems of settling the families of migrant labourers, whether on the farm or in the urban areas, require further study; African tenant farming on European holdings should be considered; that in regard to size of holding, it seems the principle should be to encourage more European farms by reducing the size of the largest, and to encourage larger African farms employing labour. (*Rhodesia Herald*, February 26, 1958.)

Christians and Politics

Sir Malcolm Barrow, Federal Minister of Home Affairs, said, when opening the headquarters of the Seventh Day Adventists in Salisbury: "I regret that there are some missions and missionaries whose excursions into the realm of politics, particularly in recent years, have grown more frequent and who will not be able to look back in years to come with the pride which they will undoubtedly have in that part of their work which is customary for missionaries." (*Rhodesia Herald*, April 12, 1958.)

Writing in his Diocesan Chronicle, the Bishop of Nyasaland said: "It would appear that political feeling in Nyasaland is hardening on both sides, and the frequent remarks of the Prime Minister, and more recently those of Sir Malcolm Barrow, the Deputy Prime Minister, on his return from the independence celebrations of Malaya, about Dominion status and self-government for the Federation in 1960 are not calculated to ease the situation.

"The argument sometimes advanced, that if Ghana is fit to be granted independence the Federation is surely at least as fit for it, does not hold water on examination, for Ghana is a homogeneous African State where Africans have been granted the right to rule themselves, whereas the Federation is a multi-racial group in which Africans outnumber Europeans by 6 million to about a quarter of a million. The premature grant of Dominion status would crystallize the present overwhelming preponderance of European representation on the Federal Assembly and on Government for a dangerously indefinite period, and it is greatly to be hoped that neither of the two political parties in England will yield to the clamour for it. It would appear that the present European political leaders in the Federation are content to ignore, for they can hardly be ignorant of the fact, that, in Africa as elsewhere, Government rests on the goodwill of the governed, and that if they lose that they lose all."

The Rev. J. S. Kingsnorth of the Diocese of Northern Rhodesia said in the course of an address in Britain: "The lack of any social contact means that the average European knows nothing of the ordinary living of the African he meets. He has no relation with them except that of employer and employee. He is therefore not equipped to pass any judgement on the character or ability of Africans; he does not, as he constantly claims to do, 'know the African'. I mention this because I think it important that you should not be put off from making constructive criticism of African affairs by the gag 'Of course, you don't understand. If you knew the African as I do you would think differently.'"

"In the political sphere I think that the proposed aim of a democracy in which one man will, eventually, have one vote, is basically more just, and so more Christian, than any conception of (very eventual) equality of racial groups as groups. This will mean that the Federation will be fundamentally an African country, with, I hope, the Europeans a valuable and respected minority. Valuable and respected, but not privileged. . . . By and large the British Government wants and is working towards such a multi-racial democracy: it is the settler in Rhodesia who is working against it. It is therefore, as I see it, a Christian duty to oppose those clamant Rhodesians who want greater independence from the British Parliament . . . who want, at this time, Dominion status for the Federation." (*Central Africa*, March and April, 1958.)

Northern Rhodesia

Proposals for Constitutional Reform

THE Government published a White Paper (March 28, 1958) containing proposals for constitutional reform. They were:

Legislative Council

The Speaker and thirty members, as follows:

- 22 Elected members: 12 from "ordinary constituencies" each with one member; they would include all Crown land, generally adjacent to railway line, plus some Native Trust and Native Reserve land adjacent to Crown lands.
- 6 from "special constituencies" each with one member, to cover the rest of N.R.
- 2 from two regrouped constituencies covering the whole area of the special constituencies, but specifically reserved for European members.
- 2 from two regrouped constituencies covering the whole area of ordinary constituencies but specifically reserved for African members.

6 Official members

2 Nominated members

—

30

—

Executive Council

The Governor would preside over nine Ministers; four *ex officio* Ministers; five other Ministers (of whom four must be successful "ordinary" candidates).

In addition, two Assistant Ministers (Parliamentary Secretaries), not members of Executive Council but bound by Executive Councillor's oath of secrecy, allegiance and office and with access as may be directed by the Governor to E.C. memoranda and minutes; each would at all times be immediately and directly under the instructions of his Minister.

Of the total of eleven, not less than two must be Africans and one of these must be a Minister.

Franchise

A common voters' roll containing:

- i. Ordinarily qualified voters according to Federal general roll.
- ii. Specially qualified voters, according to Federal special roll, plus headmen and hereditary councillors recommended by their chiefs; and persons on pension after twenty years' service with one employer.

All votes would count in full, provided that:

- i. In the twelve ordinary constituencies, the total of special votes may not count more than one-third of the total of ordinary votes cast;
- ii. In the six special constituencies, the total of ordinary votes may not count more than one-third of the total of special votes cast;
- iii. In the amalgamated constituencies i. above applied to the two reserved European seats and ii. above to the two reserved African seats.

Candidates must be qualified as voters (ordinary) except in special constituencies where they may be specially qualified. Every candidate who is only specially qualified must get a certificate from two-thirds of the chiefs in his constituency that they have no objection to his standing.

The White Paper comments: ". . . The Government expect that, in particular, criticism may be directed—most probably before full consideration and understanding of the balances needed have been achieved—against what will be termed the 'complexity of the scheme'; and such critics are most likely to be encountered outside the boundaries of Northern Rhodesia, or indeed of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, where, in very different conditions and with a much more homogeneous population, there is inevitably a failure to recognize that Northern Rhodesia is, in hard and difficult fact, a complex society . . . these proposals represent a balanced-scheme

... designed specifically to give the fairest possible wind to the policy accepted and established for the whole of the Federation."

Comment

The Times (April 23, 1958) published a letter from representatives of the Africa Bureau and associated Africa Councils which described some features of the proposals as "inequitable and dangerous". It pointed out that:

"1. The territorial Legislature of Northern Rhodesia is now primarily responsible for matters affecting Africans, most of the other functions of Government having been transferred to the Federation. It would, therefore, seem natural and appropriate that any new proposals should recognize this by giving to Africans (population 2,500,000) at least parity of representation in the Legislative and Executive Councils with the Europeans (population 88,000).

"2. Since the recent Federal Constitution Amendment and Franchise Bills have been endorsed by the British Parliament, in spite of the African Affairs Board, Africans in Central Africa are more than ever aware that the only safeguard for their legitimate political, economic, and social interests is through the Protectorate Governments, for which the Secretary of State for the Colonies is responsible to the British Parliament and people. It is therefore astonishing:

"(a) that the complete apparatus of voting has been taken over from the Federal and Southern Rhodesian systems, based as they are on concepts of colonial government fundamentally different from that of the protection afforded by the British Government. For instance, there is the 'double' common roll (of 'special' and 'ordinary' voters), the heavily loaded franchise (an income of £720 a year is the basic qualification for an 'ordinary' vote), the system of votes counting for one-third of their value according to economic and racial status (so that in 'special' (African) constituencies the 1,126 'ordinary' (European) votes will count for 1,126, while in the 'ordinary' (European) constituencies the 17,295 'special' (African) votes will count for 5,765).

"(b) that in view of the imminence of the Constitutional Revision Conference of the Federation (between 1960 and 1963), no steps have been proposed to ensure that the Northern Rhodesian Africans should be adequately represented by directly elected members of the Legislative and Executive Councils. Repeated assurances have been given in Parliament that the wishes of all the inhabitants will be consulted on any future change of the Constitution which would affect the status of the African in the Northern Protectorates, and we regard it as vital that these wishes should be fully and directly represented at the Revision Conference itself.

"3. The Government of Northern Rhodesia describes its proposals as being delicately balanced and argues that any amendment would affect the whole of this careful and complex construction. We therefore call on members of the British Parliament and of the public at large to reject these proposals as endangering the future of millions of Africans who in the past have been secure and proud to claim that they were under British Protection.

"4. It is not irrelevant to note that we make this suggestion at a time when in the Union of South Africa the disastrous results for the Africans, of leaving such matters to 'our kinsmen' and other 'men on the spot' are being tragically and unavoidably brought to the attention of the world."

The Manchester Guardian (April 21, 1958) described the proposals as an honourable attempt apart from two or three objectionable features. It said the requirement for special candidates to get a certificate from two-thirds of the chiefs was "quite shocking" and the amount of representation given to Africans in Copperbelt was "not good enough".

The Congress of the Dominion Party held in Salisbury passed a resolution saying that the attempt to alter the constitution would make the concept of Federation unworkable. The resolution also said that constitutional changes in any part of the Federation should not be permitted unless they came as a result of an agreement reached at a conference where the accredited participants in the Federal scheme were adequately represented.

It also stated that any piecemeal tampering with the territorial constitutions might gravely prejudice the country's chances of independence on

acceptable terms. The proper time for any changes would be in 1960 when the Federal constitution was to be reviewed and the question of independence considered. In any event the changes that had been proposed in the North would not strengthen the foundations of the Federation.

The Constitution Party Leader, Dr. Alexander Scott, described the proposals as exciting, but ill-balanced. (*Rhodesia Herald*, April 19 and 24, 1958.)

Commenting on the proposals, the newly-formed Rhodesia and Nyasaland Committee said: "... It is almost universally recognized, even by those who dislike the present or proposed constitutional arrangements, that universal franchise would be quite unsuitable in the Federation, at the present time. ... The more abounding revenues of the Governments (since the establishment of Federation) can afford to provide far more money for education and other social services, especially for Africans. ... Within a few years there should be a great many more Africans, in all of the Territories, satisfying the full normal requirements for the franchise. Meanwhile special stopgap provision is made, as an earnest of what is to come, and to ensure that in the interim a large number of Africans can go to the polls. ...

"Taking the proposals as a whole, they represent a resolute and ingenious endeavour to get away from a system under which the Northern Rhodesia legislature is composed of separate sectional or racial groups, each inevitably answerable to a section rather than to the community as a whole. Because European voters will preponderate in one (the more urban) part of the country and African voters in another (the more rural), the members returned will no doubt, at the outset at least, belong to those races respectively. But they will have to look to an electorate which includes members of the other race. Moreover, there is special provision for what might be called cross voting between the races, in the two seats reserved for Africans in the more urban area, and the two reserved for Europeans in the more rural area, all of whom again will be responsive to mixed electorates."

The Committee described the "huge extension" of the franchise to Africans as "perhaps the most significant and salutary feature of the scheme" and emphasized the importance of encouraging those eligible to enrol. "It is imperative, if the scheme now put forward is to be a success (and the same thing applies to the Federal and Southern Rhodesian schemes already enacted), that great efforts should be made, and novel expedients employed, to make it easy for Africans to enrol and, so far as practicable to present each eligible individual with a specific opportunity to do so." (April 13, 1958.)

Mr. Harry Franklin, Member for Education and Social Services, in a memorandum to the Colonial Secretary on the proposals of the Northern Rhodesian Government for constitutional changes, said that most articulate Africans wanted parity on the lines of the scheme submitted by the African members of the Legislative Council. They would, he believed, be prepared to accept something less than parity in the Executive Council, and would not seriously object to a fairly highly qualified franchise if they were granted parity in the Legislature.

"They want parity for the next five years, believing that this generous gesture would restore African faith in the Northern Rhodesian and United Kingdom Governments to such an extent that there would be no need for African or European reserved seats at all thereafter. ... They want the officials to remain as the balancing power, but with a pressure group on the elected African side as great as the pressure group on the elected European side, so that the officials will not be inclined to yield to a continuously greater pressure from one side. This does not run counter to the Moffat Resolutions as a temporary measure to remove fears and establish confidence. ...

"Meantime, there could be a move forward in the sense that African and European voters could vote together for the African and European candidates to fill the Legislature, and political parties whether multi-racial or otherwise, but preferably multi-racial, could operate under the parity scheme as well as under any other scheme. Members would vote as a party on ordinary issues, but any attempts by the Europeans to raise the new franchise qualifications when too many Africans appeared on the

roll, or to tinker with the Orders in Council on Native trust and Native reserve land would find the Africans rallying in one block with sufficient power to resist such actions. The argument that if Africans have equal power with Europeans in the Legislature they should not have special protective legislation—for example, ensuring their rights to 94 per cent of the territory's land—is appreciated (although since there are only three Europeans to every hundred Africans in the country this land apportionment is not unreasonable) but with the African confidence that five years of parity would restore such legislation could thereafter be repealed."

Mr. Franklin urged that Civil Servants should be allowed to stand for election, be given up to three months' unpaid leave for the purpose, and be compelled to resign from the Service if they were elected.

Referring to the franchise proposals, Mr. Franklin said these did little to remove the Africans' fear of European domination. "If it is necessary 'to enable a fair proportion of Africans to qualify at once for the vote, including some thousands who have beyond doubt already reached the stage when they are fully equipped to vote in a responsible manner, but who would not yet be able to meet the proposed permanent qualifications, to have a lower set of temporary qualifications', then it is obvious that the qualifications for the ordinary, the superior, vote have been set too high and that Africans would be deprived unjustly of that vote."

The continually falling price of copper had retarded the pace of the educational and economic advance of Africans and the ten-year period limiting the registration of special voters should become fifteen. "It begs the question to argue that the qualifications of income, property and education are the same for both races when (1) the disparity between African and European incomes is so enormous; (2) nearly all African property cannot be 'owned' or leased; and (3) only one-seventh of the African children of today . . . have any chance of obtaining full primary education; only 2½ per cent have any opportunity of reaching form II and only 1 per cent can go on to form IV . . . I submit that the property qualifications set out in the proposals should be reviewed when Africans in any numbers own or lease any property and that the income and educational qualifications should be as follows: Ordinary voters: (a) £450 p.a. (b) £300 p.a. plus standard IV; (c) £240 p.a. plus standard VI; Special voters: (a) £120 p.a.; (b) £100 p.a. plus standard IV."

Mr. Franklin stated that in the composition of the Legislative Council, as set out in the Government's proposals, Africans would have slightly more seats, in proportion than they have now. At present it was six (four Africans and two Europeans nominated to represent Africans) to twelve European elected members and under the new proposals it would be eight to fourteen. The diminution of official members did nothing to strengthen the African position and the proportion might turn out to be eight to sixteen, as it was hard to predict what effect the nomination of two members would have on the position.

With regard to qualifications for candidates, he objected strongly to the proposal that every specially qualified candidate must obtain a certificate from two-thirds of the chiefs of his constituency. No certificate of any kind should be necessary, but, if it were, should be obtained from two-thirds of all lawfully constituted African local authority and judicial bodies, including any African urban advisory councils and urban courts there may be in the constituency.

He concluded by saying that phased abolition of special qualifications should be done on reliable statistics of increased earnings and education and not on an arbitrary time factor. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, May 15, 1958.)

Congress's Attitude to Federation

The president of the African National Congress, Mr. Harry Nkumbula, issued a statement on the constitutional proposals in which he said that the confidence of the Africans in the Territorial Government had been strained to breaking-point and that any attempt to bring into force a franchise similar to the Federal franchise would be disastrous. "In 1953 the British Government sold the Africans of Central Africa to a fierce and most reactionary White minority by imposing federation against their will. It was brought about to sabotage any hope of African self-determination. It was designed to place effective political power in the hands of a European minority, thus keeping the African masses in perpetual servi-

tude. I must state without reserve that the aims and objects of the European minority in Central Africa cannot be divorced from the aims and intentions of the present Government in Great Britain."

Mr. Nkumbula said that the British Government sold 12 million Africans to a fierce and most brutal White minority when it granted dominion status to the Union of South Africa in 1910. "Although the British Government now protests against the Union's Native policy, it is sheer hypocrisy, mockery and scandal, because it was Her Majesty's Government who did the act of selling the Africans to men of their own colour . . . a not dissimilar state of affairs in the Federation is rapidly being created, especially in Northern Rhodesia. . . .

"Whether they like it or not the British public must be told that there is nothing like the British justice and fair play in the Federation. We have here a group of reactionary Europeans dictating policy which Her Majesty's Government dare not oppose." (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 22, 1958.)

Negotiations over Trades Disputes Bill

Two trade union officials, Mr. Lawrence Katilungu, president of the African Mineworkers' Union, and Mr. Jack Purvis, president of the European Mineworkers, spent a month in Britain as joint delegates to obtain support from the T.U.C. and the Miners' International Federation in their fight against a proposal to ban unofficial strikes in Northern Rhodesia.

The main recommendations of the Honeyman Commission, which investigated the labour dispute in the Rhodesian Copperbelt last year, were that it should be made a punishable offence to hold a strike without a secret ballot, that the possibility of the victimization of individuals should be removed, and that compulsory arbitration should be introduced when conciliation fails.¹

The Trades Union and Trades Dispute Bill would make all unofficial strikes, both European and African, illegal. Unofficial strikers would be fined £100 initially and £5 every day the strike lasts when there is no closed shop agreement; when there is such an agreement they would be subject to the same fines or imprisonment up to six months, or both.

Mr. Katilungu said that although they had not been given any specific promises of help in the event of the measure becoming law, he was "highly satisfied" with the results of his talks in Britain. Mr. Purvis refused to comment because "there have been certain criticisms in Northern Rhodesia of our joint delegation". This is the first time in the history of the Copperbelt that the leaders of the two racial unions have co-operated to this extent.² (*Manchester Guardian*, April 22, 1958.)

"Disclosure" Censured

The Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council passed a motion strongly deprecating the behaviour of Mr. P. Sokota, an African member, who was said to have disclosed in London details of constitutional matters discussed at a confidential meeting of Council members.

At a meeting called and presided over by Sir Arthur Benson, the Governor, Mr. Sokota, admitted that he had handed over copies of his memorandum on meeting friends in London. He added: "If members feel it is a breach of confidence I feel very sorry about it. But I was entitled to say what the African people who sent me to the United Kingdom wanted me to say." (*The Times*, April 3, 1958.)

"Apartheid" in Technical Education

Mr. G. Lewanika, president of the Mines African Staff Association, proposed a resolution that there should be no *apartheid* in technical education at the £400,000 Copperbelt Technical Foundation College.⁴ He said: "As the college is being financed by the mining companies who employ both Europeans and Africans, it is our feeling that it should be multi-racial."

The resolution was passed at the annual general meeting and the Association is seeking a meeting with the Chamber of Mines on this issue. (*Pretoria News*, April 8, 1958.)

Riots at Ndola

About five thousand Africans were involved in a riot in the locations at

¹DIGEST V, 3. ²DIGEST V, 5. ³DIGEST V, 5. ⁴DIGEST V, 5.

Ndola, when riot squad police opened fire with automatic rifles and tear-gas guns. Five Africans, two of them seriously wounded by gunfire, and two Europeans were taken to hospital. Twenty-one Africans were arrested. Two beer halls, a café and five African houses were set on fire and much damage done during the riot which went on for four hours. Later the area was declared a riot damage area. This gave powers to the District Commissioner to restrict movement to, from and within the area and also to assess the damage and to make a levy on all people living within the area to cover the cost.

A commission is to be appointed to inquire into the causes of the riots which followed the announcement that house rents were to go up by an average of 11s. a month because the Government was withdrawing its subsidy. Most house rents are paid by employers. (*Rhodesia Herald*, April 11, 12, and 14, 1958.)

Later police arrested some 400 Africans in a surprise raid on the main African township. (*The Times*, April 17, 1958.)

Corporal Punishment of African Boys

A question was asked in the House of Commons (April 24, 1958) about the sentencing of five African boys charged with burglary. Mr. Lennox-Boyd said that the boys all received sentences ranging from fifteen to twenty-two strokes. Santi Meleki was convicted on two charges of burglary and theft and sentenced to an aggregate of twenty-two strokes and also recommended for deportation to his village; he was 15 years of age. Mr. Lennox Boyd said that no appeal was entered against any of the sentences, but the High Court intervened as the sentences appeared excessive to the Acting Chief Justice. At the time of intervention eleven strokes were still due to be inflicted on Santi Meleki, and two other sentences had not then been completed.

Replying to a supplementary question as to whether these sentences were in violation of the Penal Code, Mr. Lennox-Boyd said that the Penal Code prohibits the imposition of a sentence of more than twelve strokes on a person under the age of 18 years. Although the total number of strokes in each case was not imposed in respect of one charge only, and therefore the imposition of the strokes could not be said to have been contrary to the Penal Code, the Acting Chief Justice ruled that to allow the sentence to stand would result in the spirit of the law being defeated. As a result of this case consideration is being given to the amendment of the law with the object of preventing the infliction of more than twelve strokes for a succession of offences.

Nyasaland

Forecast of Regional Autonomy

SPEAKING in London, Sir Robert Armitage, the Governor, said: "After World War II, Nyasaland was able to release itself from the control of the U.K. Treasury and its economy could be described as viable, but the level of development and the standard of living was inevitably doomed to be both slow and low. Federation changed all that. But it did not change the sentiment of those Africans who had begun to say that they were entitled to look forward, under those old agreements, to some form of independence for Nyasaland, however slowly it would be reached, for that is the declared policy of H.M.G. for all her possessions overseas. The degree to which that independence would have been linked in some relationship with Great Britain or possibly with the Commonwealth, and the degree to which it had a restricted scope, could be an interesting mental exercise for aspiring students of constitutional history. But there must have been visualized that at some time there would be an independence of sorts, of a country of a poor economy, with little possibility of rapid change or development, a quarter of these working adult African males choose to seek their livelihood outside the territory.

"Now what has federation done? It has certainly removed part of that possible independence because, while Nyasaland can clearly look forward to a state of what I will call 'regional autonomy within the Federation', there must be some modification of full autonomy in respect of those subjects which the Federal Government control and operate throughout

the Federation. These take away from the full independence of the local Nyasaland Government. But I think that those who exclaim that ultimate independence is something for which they would prefer to go naked in the streets of Blantyre rather than be millionaires under federation overlook very important aspects. . . .

"The trouble is that the African politician is now stopping his ears to the word 'federation'. He can make no headway on this basis. He must recognize that constitutional advancement is possible within a federal framework and he must recognize too that it is only through federation that he can obtain the economic benefits which will secure his advancement. So I am prepared to say that under federation, while there must appear to African leaders to be a smaller degree of independence than some poor and perhaps struggling Nyasaland Government might one day have wielded on its own, this has been more than compensated for by the vast improvement in the standard of living and the prosperity of the many hundreds of thousands of the inhabitants of the territory. This is not a once-for-all development, but a continuing process affecting the life of all the inhabitants, urban and rural. . . .

"It is the unwillingness of African nationalists to accept present conditions, make them work and then improve them that causes the antipathy between the leaders of the races to increase and strengthen the fear complexes from which both races suffer. . . . The African is reluctant to accept the Federation because he cannot believe that he will ever be allowed to play a role equal to that of the European. He distrusts both federation and the movement towards greater independence for the Federation because he insists that this means a continued and fiercer domination by the White man over the Black. I cannot share this view, because I have complete confidence in the sentiments expressed in the preamble to the Federal Order-in-Council and in particular to two passages in that document. The first states that Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland should continue to enjoy separate governments for so long as their respective peoples so desire. A unitary state or an amalgamation of the territories is thus prevented and this position has frequently and recently been confirmed by Secretaries of State and the Prime Minister of the Federation. The second passage says that the Federation would foster partnership and co-operation between the inhabitants of the territories and enable the Federation, when those inhabitants so desire, to go forward with confidence towards the attainment of full membership of the Commonwealth. In each case it has been made clear that the inhabitants and the peoples referred to include the Africans who live in the Federation." (*Federation Newsletter*, April 19, 1958.)

The Economics of Secession

Dr. Hastings K. Banda, a member of the Nyasaland African National Congress who is returning to Nyasaland at the end of June, stated that secession is the only solution to the political problem in Central Africa. Nyasaland would never accept or acquiesce in federation.

He said that Nyasaland thought that their country was economically viable. "They do not believe that their land of the lake is as poor as it is believed in Britain or elsewhere. The Nyasalanders have clear and definite ideas as to what they would do with their country if they were in control of their own affairs. They would transform their land of the lake into a veritable Central African Denmark, by embarking upon extensive and intensive schemes of agricultural development through individual and co-operative efforts."

More surveying was needed to ascertain the true mineral wealth of the country. If any kind of union were needed, "then union with Tanganyika is much more logical and sensible than that with Southern Rhodesia. Nyasaland has much more in common with Tanganyika, geographically and ethnologically, than she has with Southern Rhodesia. This is also true of the north-eastern part of Northern Rhodesia. The boundaries between Nyasaland and Tanganyika or Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia are artificial, and of European creation, to suit the convenience of the early settlers and the powers in London and Berlin. There are tribes in Nyasaland, parts of which live both in Tanganyika and north-eastern Northern Rhodesia."

Sir Stewart Gore-Browne suggested union of Nyasaland and north-eastern Northern Rhodesia in 1951 or 1952. Last year the Rt. Hon. John

Dugdale, M.P., wrote an article on the subject.¹ Sir Stewart's and Mr. Dugdale's suggestions should now be seriously considered as an alternative to imposed union with Southern Rhodesia, which the Nyasas will never, at any time, accept. (*New Commonwealth*, March 31, 1958.)

Commenting on this article, Mr. L. F. G. Anthony, Information Attaché at Rhodesia House, wrote: "... Not even union with neighbouring Tanganyika, as Dr. Banda suggests, could stop the crippling retrenchment which would inevitably follow the loss of Federal revenue. The total expenditure in Nyasaland by both Federal and territorial governments at present is in the region of £7,750,000. Nyasaland on its own could not hope to raise much more than £4,500,000 towards meeting this bill. . . .

"Dr. Banda claims that the Nyasas could transform their land into a 'Central African Denmark' if they were in control of their own affairs. But why was this not done before? Instead, famine and pestilence and soil erosion were the order of things—an order which would surely return.

"What exploitation of minerals could be made without cheap power and good communications? How does Dr. Banda envisage that either could be provided under the financial limitations that an independent Nyasaland would suffer? Even borrowing would be severely handicapped. Nyasaland at present shares the benefit of the Federation's high credit standing. . . .

"If the African M.L.C.s in Nyasaland would only take account of these facts, and would cease striving wildly for political advancement for themselves, they could do so much good towards the cause of general advancement for their fellow Africans. Federation . . . is greatly improving health and social services, and opening up vistas for more skilled and diversified employment. . . . Creating stable conditions for greater prosperity and an increasingly more educated population will allow more and more of the rank and file to play a part in the development of the country—and surely this is the real kind of political advancement. . . ." (*New Commonwealth*, May 12, 1958.)

Debates in the Legislative Council

During a debate in the Legislative Council on the level of development and services in the Protectorate which has resulted from its membership of the Federation, the Financial Secretary (Mr. H. E. I. Phillips) pointed out that in 1952 Nyasaland balanced her budget but that the recurrent and capital expenditure amounted to only £4½ million on all services or less than £2 per head of population. In the current financial year the estimated expenditure of the Protectorate and Federation Governments together on Nyasaland services was £11½ million or approx. £4 10s. per head. Federal expenditure on health was trebled; Protectorate current expenditure on African education had risen from £200,000 in 1952 to £650,000 in 1957–8.

All the African members spoke against the motion. Mr. D. W. Chijoz, M.L.C., said the motion would irritate all Africans both inside the Chamber and outside: he said that it was not Nyasaland but Southern Rhodesia which was financially collapsing before federation, and it was the latter which was enjoying the benefits of federation. Mr. Chipembere said the motion was evidence that federation had come to the stage of struggling for existence: the European members had to try to defend it. The Africans wanted evidence of actual development other than evidence of expenditure: they wanted evidence of the improvement of conditions for Africans in the Civil Service. Race relations in Nyasaland had deteriorated since the coming of federation. Mr. Chipembere was ordered to withdraw from the Council when he refused to take back a remark that "the European is a bloodsucker".

Mr. M. W. K. Chiome, M.L.C., said that they should not take for granted that the question of the future of Nyasaland in the Federation was an exclusively economic issue: would the British people be prepared to sell their freedom to the Russians for £4 million or, for the sake of argument, for ten times that figure?

The motion was carried by fifteen votes to five, all the African members voting against it.

When a motion implementing the powers of the Federal Electoral Bill for Nyasaland was introduced, the Chief Secretary (Mr. C. W. F. Footman) said that there would be on the *general roll* some 2,300–2,500 non-Africans

¹DIGEST IV, 5.

and rather under 230 Africans: on the *special roll* there would be about 7,000 Africans, while a total of about 3,000 non-Africans (including those on the *general roll*) would also be entitled to vote for the African elected members.

After all the African members had spoken against the motion, they walked out of the Chamber, and it was passed in their absence. (*Hansard*, March 17 and 18, 1958.)

Progressive Party Proposals

A delegation from the Nyasaland Progressive Association led by the president, Mr. J. C. Matinga, put forward to the Governor their proposals for constitutional changes. They recommended a step-by-step movement towards equal African responsibility in the Government. They did not think that Africans were yet ready for Executive Council responsibilities or the country for universal suffrage. The Legislature should consist of sixteen Government members (ten official and six others nominated by the Governor) and fifteen non-official members of all races elected on a common roll, the qualifications for voting being an income of at least £150. Special provisions are recommended for chiefs and certain other specified members of the community. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, April 24, 1958.)

Allegation of Betrayal

A meeting called in Blantyre by Mr. H. B. Chipembere, M.L.C., sent a telegram to the Colonial Secretary, stating that Britain deserved to be expelled from the United Nations for "her act of betrayal in the Nyasaland African Protectorate over which she has imposed a Federation at the instigation of a tiny minority of White settlers and against the will of the overwhelming majority of indigenous people". The telegram urged the Colonial Secretary to remove Nyasaland from the Federation quickly. Mr. Chipembere said that the European settler leaders and the officials were alarmed because they could not find "any reasonable Africans" willing to stand as candidates for Federal elections or register as Federal voters. (*Rhodesia Herald*, April 15, 1958.)

Mr. W. M. Chirwa, Federal M.P. for Nyasaland, called for the Colonial Secretary to declare Nyasaland an African State with an African majority in both the Executive and Legislative Councils. He added: "Unless these constitutional changes are granted, there is serious strife ahead. The Government must set fears at rest by making a public statement that this country is a Protectorate and must inevitably be governed by the African people themselves." The Secretary-General of the Nyasaland African Congress, Mr. C. B. Kanchanjulu, went to Salisbury to collect funds to send a three-man delegation to London for talks on constitutional changes. (*Rhodesia Sunday Mail*, April 13, 1958.)

Ban on U.S. Films Lifted

Ian Colvin reported (*Daily Telegraph*, April 28, 1957) that a six-month ban on admitting official American films into Nyasaland had been lifted. It was imposed by officials in Zomba after offence had been given by a film sent for showing to Africans. It had a sequence showing Ghanaians in convict dress hauling down the Union Jack. (Dr. Nkrumah and other politicians sometimes wear convict caps in memory of their struggle for independence). British officials who saw the preview of the film considered it would have a disturbing effect on Nyasaland Africans. They sent it back to the United States with a request to send no more documentaries for six months. This is believed to be the first time a State Department film has been banned on British territory. Elsewhere in the Federation White audiences saw it.

Population Statistics

At the end of 1957 the population was estimated at 2,660,000 including 9,400 Asians, 7,900 Europeans, and 1,400 Coloured. The African population has doubled in the last twenty-five years: some of the increase is due to immigration from Portuguese East Africa. About one-third of the Asian and Coloured population was born in Nyasaland: their 1957 total of 10,800 compares with 2,804 in 1945 and 1,573 in 1931: comparable figures for Europeans are 1957: 7,900; 1945: 1,948; 1931: 1,975. (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 12, 1958.)

Southern Rhodesia

Prime Minister's Defeat

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, the Prime Minister (United Federal Party), was defeated by Mr. Jack Pain (Dominion Party) by eighty-seven votes in the by-election at Hillside, Bulawayo.¹ 1,332 of the 1,806 electors on the roll recorded their votes.

Commenting on the result, Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister and Federal President of the United Federal Party, said: "I do not regard this as a great blow against the Government of Southern Rhodesia. The majority of voters in the Hillside constituency obviously believe that, following the recent government crisis in Southern Rhodesia, there should be a general election as soon as possible." Mr. Winston Field, leader of the Dominion Party, said that the result should strengthen opinion in favour of the Dominion Party way of thinking regarding the tackling of the constitutional issues of 1960.

Of the possible effect of the by-election and a subsequent general election, on overseas investment, he said: "The by-election shows that people in this country are quite determined to have the government of the country in competent and civilized hands, and that therefore it will be a very much better climate for overseas investment." Mr. Hardwicke Holderness, member for Salisbury North, blamed the surprise defeat of Sir Edgar Whitehead on apparent disunity in the Party.

It was announced that Parliament would be dissolved on April 24 and a general election held on June 5, 1958. (*Rhodesia Herald*, April 17, 18, and 19, 1958.)

The General Election and the U.R.P.

Mr. R. S. Garfield Todd, the former Prime Minister, and six of his followers in the Territorial Assembly left the United Federal Party and re-established the United Rhodesia Party. Sir Edgar Whitehead, the Prime Minister, said the U.F.P. caucus had decided that it was "preferable to have two parties, rather than one", and he would continue to lead the United Federal Party in Southern Rhodesia.

Mr. A. D. H. Lloyd, the Bulawayo Member of Parliament, speaking for the United Rhodesia Party group, said it was the intention of the party to fight as many seats as possible in the general election. Mr. Todd resigned as Minister of Labour and Social Welfare in Sir Edgar Whitehead's government. Sir Roy Welensky commenting said: "I personally welcome the development of the three-party system in this country. We already have a Right-wing party and it is only proper that there should be a home for the Leftists who feel that the United Federal Party is not moving fast enough for them."

An introductory note to the Policy Statement issued by the U.R.P. pointed out that many important functions of government, such as European agriculture, European education, health, defence, immigration and income tax, have been given to the Federal Parliament. By far the most important function of Government, both in degree and implication, that remains to the territorial Parliament is responsibility for African affairs. The Party promises to continue the vigorous policy of the previous United Rhodesia Party Government in housing, road construction, the conservation and development of water resources, and encouragement and assistance to the mining industry and to trade and industry generally.

Amongst other subjects dealt with are:

"Industrial Relations—Development is dependent upon our achieving good relations in industry, not only between employer and employed, but also between employees of different races and different levels of skill. . . . Two Select Committees of the last Parliament investigated this problem over a period of more than three years and drafted a new Industrial Conciliation Bill designed to secure the interests of all concerned and of the country. The Party supports the principles of the new Bill and will seek its introduction at the earliest opportunity.

"Dominion Status—The Constitution will be reviewed in 1960 at a conference of the Governments of the Federation, of the three territories, and of Great Britain. At this conference, from her position of indepen-

dence within the Federal Constitution, Southern Rhodesia will co-operate with the other Governments to obtain the grant of Dominion Status to the Federation. The Party believes that the greatest contribution Southern Rhodesia can make to the achievement of Dominion Status will be by establishing a sense of freedom, unity, and confidence amongst her people through enlightened government.

"Franchise—. . . the Party does not intend to make any change in the existing qualifications.

"Education—The responsibility of the territorial Government is restricted to primary and secondary education of Africans. The Party believes that the future of the country depends on achieving sufficient production both to secure European standards of life and to permit a progressive rise in African standards. To achieve this the industrial, commercial and agricultural skill of the population must be increased at the greatest rate possible so as to ensure the benefit of the whole community. We will provide a programme of educational and technical training designed to serve the best interests of the country.

"Land—There exist a number of important problems relating to land with which the Government will be faced during the next five years. Among these are: (a) the legal position of Africans in relation to the use and occupation of business premises in the cities; (b) problems arising as a result of the changeover from communal occupation to individual tenure of land in the African rural areas; and (c) the proper settlement of a very large number of Africans at present residing in the African rural areas on a squatter basis. We would submit such matters to a Select Committee or other appropriate body before which the public would be entitled to give evidence.

"Security—Southern Rhodesia has a particularly good record in the field of race relations. . . . This Party believes that this record will be maintained by establishing a sound economy and by the provision of a just system for the participation of all races in the life of the country. Nevertheless, in the unsettled state of the world in general, and of Africa in particular, it is essential to maintain a system of security which will prevent disturbances in the Colony.

"Discriminatory Legislation—This Party recognizes that the existence of discriminatory laws and practices is often a cause of bitterness and resentment, and believes that it is in the best interests of the country as a whole that they should be continually reviewed and revised. The Party recognizes and respects the principle of parliamentary democracy that a mandate is required for amendments which represent a major change in policy." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, May 15, 1958.)

The Constitution Party announced that it had formed a Southern Rhodesia division. It has so far operated only in Northern Rhodesia. The Party is multi-racial and the committee includes Mr. J. S. J. (Japie) de Villiers, a Bulawayo lawyer; Dr. Denis Fowler, of Salisbury; Mr. J. Bassoppo-Moyo, an African business man; Mr. Aaron Jacha and Mr. I. Chipunza, president and secretary of the African National Farmers' Union; Mr. R. A. D. Snapper, a Coloured hotel proprietor; Mr. N. R. Lannas, a Coloured motor mechanic; and Mr. M. Lalloo, an Asian trader. The chairman, Dr. Colin Campbell, said: "We feel that there are many genuine liberals in the United Federal (Government) Party who are dissatisfied with the present policy of their party and, although we understand why they should remain in support of the U.F.P. for the purposes of this election, we believe that many of them will join the Constitution Party at a later date." (*Rhodesia Herald*, April 23 and 24, 1958.)

The *Central African Examiner* (May 10, 1958) commented: "The United Federal Party still contains members who are sympathetic towards the ideals of the Dominion Party, and the United Rhodesia Party, although more 'purified' than the U.F.P. contains people whose views should really place them in the ranks of the Constitution Party. The Dominion Party and the neo-Confederate Party also overlap to a great extent.

"But the big question is, what is the voter going to make of all this mix-up? And what help is he getting from the leaders of the various parties? . . . Sir Edgar Whitehead, its (the U.F.P.'s) territorial leader, came from Washington to try to patch up the difference in the Party which led to Todd's resignation. At the beginning he showed some promise. He emphasized the differences between federal and territorial politics—a clear 'hands off' warning to Sir Roy Welensky—and insisted

¹DIGEST V, 5.

on retaining Todd in his Cabinet. But since his defeat at Hillside, Whitehead's attitude has changed. He has given way to the 'reactionary element' in the U.F.P. and has allowed Todd and his supporters to leave the Party. If he had stood firm and allowed the Right-wing members to leave the U.F.P. he would have kept Todd and saved the unity of the members of the Party. He is reported to have blamed Todd for his defeat at Hillside, and he has repeated the old charge that Todd claimed personal credit for all the progressive measures introduced by his Government as a whole. He has gone to the absurd length of admitting that there is no difference between the policies of the U.F.P. and Todd's United Rhodesia Party, but only in their 'presentation' (which means the manner of their presentation by Todd). In other words, we are asked in effect to believe that the only difference between the U.F.P. and the U.R.P. is that the latter contains Todd. We wonder how long the electorate, not to mention the 'Right wing' of the U.F.P., are going to swallow this kind of stuff. It is small wonder that many of the U.F.P. members are deserting to the Dominion Party; at least, within that party, they would have a clearer idea of where they stand. . . .

"Whatever may be said against Todd, he does not lack courage and personality, although he may be inclined to dominate rather than lead. Speaking in Salisbury, he touched on two fundamental questions: the status of Southern Rhodesia within the Federation, and the effect on the African of rapid industrialization. There is no doubt that the conception of the Federation as a unitary state, with a strong centre party federally controlled, and territorial branches subordinate to it, lies behind much political thinking in this country; and these ideas are strong in the United Federal and Dominion Parties. . . .

"But Todd sees future stability in a Federation led by a progressive and independent Southern Rhodesia, where traditionally good race relations can set an example to the other two territories. Here the Industrial Conciliation Bill, which treats labour problems on a non-racial basis can play an important part—for it cannot be pretended that the growth of racial trade unions in the north is leading to racial harmony. . . .

"The results of the election on June 5 will show how far the voters are governed by fear of African advancement, and how many have the courage to face facts that may be unpalatable. If the Dominion Party wins—as seems possible—fear, reaction, and prejudice will triumph over reason. The United Federal Party will be helped by the preferential vote and by the fact that it is, or professes to be, a 'middle-of-the-road' party; but its vacillating leadership will lose it many votes, mainly to the Dominion Party. The United Rhodesia Party will probably be considered, mistakenly, too 'liberal' by most voters. Whitehead, by failing to heal the split in the United Federal Party, has brought great hope to the Dominion Party. Although he claims that his party has the same policy as that of the U.R.P., he has made it impossible for the two parties to reunite—unless the Dominion Party victory makes this necessary.

"Those who believe in real progress for the Colony and the Federation have only two choices in this election: Whitehead or Todd. So far only Todd has shown himself to have the courage of his convictions."

Franchise and Delimitation¹

The General Election of June 5, 1958, will be fought in the new constituencies as established by the Delimitation Commission under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice Murray, the Chief Justice. Since the last delimitation five years ago, the number of voters has increased from 49,411 to 55,148. The average for a constituency has risen from 1,647 to 1,838 voters, with a permitted minimum by law of 1,562 and a maximum of 2,114.

Some constituency boundaries have been altered, especially in and around Salisbury to bring the numbers within the limits. (*Rhodesia Herald*, April 24, 1958.)

When the electoral roll closed on January 31, 1958, only some 2,500 Non-Europeans had enrolled. It was estimated that some 10,000 Africans were eligible to enrol as special voters, but only 1,636 such voters are registered, of whom it is estimated that 90 per cent are Africans. (*Rhodesia Sunday Mail*, April 20, 1958.)

¹DIGEST V, 4 and 5.

Native Affairs Amendment Bill

The Southern Rhodesian Parliament has agreed to amendments in the Native Affairs Amendment Bill, providing among other things for the ejection of indigenous Africans from any reserve or tribal area, if their presence is "undesirable in the public interest or in the interests of the Natives living in such reserve or area". Mr. H. H. C. Holderness said that the amendments circumvented the courts and placed the Government above the law. Mr. B. Baron, compared the amendments envisaged with the Suppression of Communism Act in South Africa, where the individual could be "named" without conviction to justify such action. Sir Patrick Fletcher said the fate of evicted people, if they were evicted for Communist activities, did not worry him at all. They would carry a stigma, and they deserved this. It had to be recognized that such a person could be a very much greater danger in one area than in another. Moved to a strange area he would not be able to foment unrest over the same issues. Also, the danger of subversive propaganda such as Communism was greater in the more backward areas than in the more advanced and urban areas where the intelligent and educated African had no reason to espouse such causes. The Leader of the House, Sir George Davenport, said he could not see how the Bill placed the Government above the law, "as we are making the law". In Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Africans could already be moved under Colonial Office legislation from one part of the country to another.

Subsequently, the vice-president of the African National Congress, Mr. R. J. D. Chikerema, claimed that the implementation of this provision would lead to the establishment of "concentration camps of the worst type". He said this section of the Bill was a direct negation of the principles of democracy. The Government knew the Land Husbandry Act had been implemented in some reserves which had caused unrest. It was now trying to silence its critics by threatening them with deportation "to unknown places which are at present only known to the Government". (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 8 and 11, 1958.)

Unemployment

The *Rhodesia Herald* (March 12, 1958) reported that African unemployment was assuming serious proportions in the main centres. The effects of the credit squeeze were being felt especially by African and Coloured labour. The number of Africans unemployed in Bulawayo had doubled in a month to more than 8,000. In Salisbury there was a ceaseless trek from store to store, building to building and factory to factory of men seeking work.

British artisans who were recently airlifted to the Federation sent a deputation to the Ministry of Home Affairs to protest about mass unemployment and "the duping of the artisans". Of the 200 workmen rushed out to the Federation by air only a few months ago, more than half were said to have returned to Britain. The Ministry issued a statement denying the charges and said that some artisans had turned down work. One had said he did not want to work for 10s. 9½d. per hour. (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 17 and 18, 1958.)

Later forty unemployed European building artisans made a protest march through the centre of Salisbury, disrupting the traffic and gaining a generally hostile reception from the crowds of shoppers who stopped to stare and hurl abuse at them. Two of the demonstrators had staged a hunger strike at the foot of the statue of Cecil Rhodes in the centre of Salisbury. A subsequent official statement said that a number of factors which were beyond the control of the Government and the building employers—such as the shortage of bricks, the closing down of the Bancroft copper mine, and the credit squeeze—had led to a small amount of unemployment in the building industry. (*Manchester Guardian*, March 24 and 26, 1958.)

Congress and the Land

The president-general of the African National Congress, Mr. J. Nkomo, said that Congress was multi-racial. The word "African" included everyone who had made his home in Africa. "We have not yet been able to enrol as many European Africans or as many Asian Africans as we would like," he said. "We have looked back and found that a number of things went wrong at the first contact between the White man

and the Black man. The first mistake was dividing the land into two sections. The psychological effect was to divide the people into two separate communities, neither of whom quite knows what the other is doing." He spoke of the Land Husbandry Act as a "glorified piece of legislation, well meant but with failings". The basic fault with the Act was that there was insufficient land for the Africans. Native Affairs Department officials were struggling to divide it and acreages had been cut and destocking ordered by the Government. At the same time the Africans affected saw vast tracts of land fenced by people who were not even in the country.

In reply, an official of the Native Affairs Department pointed out that there were 2,282,823 Africans in Southern Rhodesia. The whole Colony totals only 97 million acres or the equivalent of less than fifty acres per head of the African population. The official added that when the agricultural authorities began work in an area they had met with objections from Africans. But in the areas covered so far, Africans had expressed their support of the Act when they saw the advantages of proper demarcation and land grading.

Parliament adopted the report of the Select Committee on Assignment of Land, recommending that about 4 million acres of unassigned land should be allocated to the European area, and more than 3 million acres to the Special Native Area. (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 14, 19, and 20, 1958.)

Multi-racial Sports Offer

A large organization (at present anonymous) in Salisbury is prepared to finance the 1962 Rhodesian Empire Games team, provided the team is multi-racial. The President of the Rhodesian Empire and Olympic Games Association, Mr. E. Rigg James, said his executive committee would consider the question of multi-racial teams and added that it was becoming increasingly difficult to raise funds to send teams to Empire and Olympic Games. (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 3, 1958.)

EAST AFRICA

Trade Unions

GORDON MACLEAN, writing for the *Observer Foreign News Service* (March 20, 1958), described the reactions to the visit of Mr. Tom Bavin, Director of the World Federation of Plantation Workers, to British East Africa. He said: "The visit is generally interpreted as the first shot in the campaign to organize agricultural workers, none of whom have any organization to better their conditions or wages, which are among the lowest anywhere in British Africa. As the plantation industries are chiefly in the hands of larger concerns with fairly extensive resources, union organizers feel that they are likely to achieve more initial success with such employers than with the agricultural industry as a whole. The next step will be to organize farm labourers, especially in Kenya's White Highlands, where the 'squatter' system has enabled employers to retain labourers for as little as thirty shillings or forty shillings a month, plus housing and rations.

"It is significant that more than two years ago the Kenya Government set up a committee to investigate the rural wages structure and recommend some system of minimum wages, similar to that legally in force in all the towns. (In Nairobi, the current minimum wage is now £5 a month, plus free housing.) Among the members of this committee presided over by the new Governor-Designate of Tanganyika, Mr. Richard Turnbull, was trade union organizer Tom Mboya, at that time still unknown in politics. The findings of this important committee have never yet been made public, as the Government apparently feared the reception its report would receive from Kenya settlers.

"Well aware of this background, therefore, Kenya trade union leaders, in concert with their colleagues in Tanganyika and Uganda who are inclined to look to Nairobi for guidance, have enlisted the aid of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Brussels. A delegation is soon to visit East Africa from the I.C.F.T.U. to investigate allegations that the trade union movement is being hindered in its legitimate develop-

ment. So far the eleven trade unions in Kenya claim an approximate paid-up membership of 40,000. The I.C.F.T.U. delegates will obviously take a close look at the position in the rural areas and will no doubt offer comments on the daily system of labour employed by the coffee planters during the picking season, the sisal industry's efforts to recruit low-paid labour from outside East Africa, and the tea industry's use of juvenile labour."

University College Development Recommended

A White Paper issued jointly by the Governments of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, and Zanzibar recommended further university college development in East Africa, within the scope of a single university for the territories of which all colleges would be constituent units.

The Governments point out that it would be some time before an East African university could be brought into being. In the meantime they welcome proposals for the establishment of a University College in Nairobi and a University College of Tanganyika—on the understanding that both institutions would be complementary to existing colleges, and not competitive with them. To achieve maximum economy, it would be necessary for each of the colleges of the university to specialize in subjects most appropriate to it.

In dealing with Makerere College, the report said that the Governments accepted the view that the present system of charging much higher fees to students from outside Kenya, Tanganyika or Uganda was contrary to the normal practice of the rest of the university world.

Accordingly the Governments of Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda had agreed to make provisions in their block grants which would enable the college to accept a number of undergraduates from other territories at the same fees as those charged to East African students.

The White Paper described the Royal Technical College in Nairobi as "primarily a technological college" and added: "In fact the only technical institute work remaining was very limited, and was performed outside the college buildings at a Kenya Government school. The college acted on an agency basis, and was reimbursed for the services of its staff . . . the Kenya Government intended to open a separate technical institute before the end of 1958, thus relieving the college of this level of work."

It was agreed, as an aim of policy, that the standard of entry to institutions of higher education—such as Makerere and the Royal Technical College—should be raised as soon as practicable. It was unlikely that Kenya would be able to institute H.S.C. classes in African schools before 1961, whereas Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar intended to start in 1959. (*East African Standard*, March 7, 1958.)

Kenya

Election Results

Additional African Seats

THE following were elected to the six additional seats in the Legislative Council, to which, under the new Constitution African Members are directly elected: Francis J. Khamisi, Justus K. ole Tipis, Dr. Julius G. Kiano, Jeremiah J. M. Nyaga, D. N. Mumo, T. arap Towett. All support the decision of the Africa Elected Members Organization to boycott the elections for the Special Seats.

Special Seats

Voting as an electoral college by free and secret vote, the Legislative Council elected the following four members of each race to the newly-created special seats: Europeans—Mr. Michael Blundell, Mr. W. B. Havelock, Mr. B. R. McKenzie, and Mr. H. Slade; Asians—Mr. I. E. Nathoo, Sheikh Mohamed Ali Said el Mandry, Mr. C. B. Madan, and Mr. N. S. Mangat; and Africans—Musa Amalemba, John Muchara, Newland Gibson Ngome, and Wanyutu Waweru.

The African Elected Members' boycott was complete, and none were present in the Parliament building. Mr. J. G. Nazareth, Asian Elected Member, who sympathized with the African Members' attitude, also stayed away.

Mr. Blundell, Mr. Havelock, Mr. Nathoo and Mr. Madan have

previously held Ministerial positions, and Mr. Wanyutu Waweru was Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Education. In a joint statement the twelve new Members said they had formed an Association with the primary object of promoting policies for the benefit of Kenya as a whole without racial or sectional bias. (*Commonwealth Newsletter*, May 2, 1958.)

The former Kenya Finance Minister, Mr. E. A. Vasey, polled the same number of votes as Mr. Humphrey Slade, but Mr. Slade's name was drawn first when the issue was decided by lot, as was provided for in the regulations governing the election. (*The Times*, April 23, 1958.)

The Governor, Sir Evelyn Baring, paid a tribute to Mr. Vasey in the course of a speech at the St. George's Day dinner in Nairobi. He said: "No one could have carried out the duties of Minister for Finance in circumstances of unparalleled difficulty with as great success as he has done. But that is not all. His judgement, and his ability in the political field to see more points of view than one, have been very valuable to the country as a whole. He has shown very much the historic capacity of those born in the British Isles to tread the road of reform with success and I am personally deeply grateful to him."

Mr. James Callaghan (Labour) asked the Colonial Secretary whether despite the non-election of Mr. Vasey because of the failure of the European Members to vote for him in sufficient numbers, and despite the opposition of the African Elected Members who are the only Members elected by the Africans themselves he would be able in these circumstances to pursue the Constitution. Mr. Lennox Boyd replied: "Yes, sir. In regard to the defeat of Mr. Vasey, had the Africans taken part in the election a different result might have ensued." He added in reply to a subsequent question that he was happy to say that Mr. Vasey had for the time being accepted reappointment as Minister of Finance and that a well-deserved vote of confidence in his administration of Kenya's economic affairs had been carried in the Legislative Council without a division.

When Mr. Kenneth Robinson (Labour) asked him to use his influence to ensure that Mr. Vasey's services were continuously made available to Kenya as long as he was willing, Mr. Lennox Boyd replied: "I think Mr. Vasey knows of the respect and admiration which I personally hold for him."

The Council of Ministers

Musa Amalemba, one of the four Africans elected to the Special seats has been appointed Minister for Housing. Mr. W. E. Crosskill becomes Minister of Tourism and Common Services and Mr. Norman Harris, European Minister without Portfolio in succession to Group Captain L. R. Briggs. Mr. E. A. Vasey retains the Finance portfolio for the time being. Mr. Michael Blundell returns to the Ministry for Agriculture and Mr. W. B. Havelock continues as Minister for Local Government, Health, and Town Planning (Housing having been made a separate portfolio). The Ministries for Education, Labour and Lands and for Community Development are vacant. Two assistant Ministers are Wanyutu Waweru (Education, Labour, and Lands) and Sheikh Mohamed Ali Said el Mandhry (Forest Development, Game and Fisheries). The new constitution provides not fewer than three and not more than six assistant Ministers. (*The Times*, April 30, 1958.)

In a despatch to the Governor, Mr. Lennox-Boyd said: "Members of the Council of Ministers who accept office will, as at present, be required to accept collective responsibility for Government policy, to support and vote with it in the Legislature, and to support that policy both in public and private."

He described the "broad objectives" towards which Kenya should progress as "(1) Building within the British Commonwealth a strong and prosperous Kenya owing loyalty to the British Crown; (2) Promoting racial harmony and friendliness and developing opportunities for all loyal subjects, irrespective of race or religion, to advance in accordance with character and ability and (3) Securing that individual rights of private property are respected. He added: "I am confident that it will be your purpose, and that of your Ministers, to encourage an attitude to land based on the principles of good husbandry and the most advantageous employment of natural resources, and to promote, in lieu of arguments over racial reservations, a co-operative endeavour to use and conserve the fertile soil of Kenya for the lasting prosperity of all its inhabitants, present and future."

"As is mentioned in paragraph 11 of Cmd. 309 the office of Parliamentary Secretary will be changed to that of Assistant Minister. The practical effect of this will be that their Ministers, although remaining solely responsible for their portfolios and for decisions taken in fulfilment of those responsibilities, will associate Assistant Ministers with them in the formulation of policy, either over the whole range or over part of their duties as they see fit. Assistant Ministers should be selected from Members of the Legislative Council or be appointed thereto as soon after they take office as can conveniently be arranged. Assistant Ministers, in their capacity as members of the Legislative Council, will be allotted appropriate duties by their Ministers in connexion with their Parliamentary work. With the end of the experimental arrangements devised by my predecessor and the creation of a permanent and enlarged Council of Ministers, I have decided that the Executive Council no longer meets any useful purpose. Accordingly, no provision has been made for the Council in the new constitutional instruments; its functions will be assumed by the Council of Ministers. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, May 1, 1958.)

Charges Against African Elected Members

Seven African Elected Members of the Kenya Legislative Council pleaded Not Guilty in the Nairobi magistrates' court to charges of conspiracy to commit a misdemeanour and of criminal libel. They were Daniel Arap Moi, Oginga Odinga, Masinde Muliro, Lawrence Oguda, James Nzau Muimi, Ronald Ngala, and Thomas Mboya. The hearing was fixed for May 28. The first charge alleged that on or about March 25 they conspired to use undue influence for the purpose of inducing persons who had announced their intention of standing as candidates for the "Specially Elected" seats in the Legislative Council to refrain from becoming candidates. Six candidates were named in the charge. The other charge alleged that they published defamatory matter affecting the same six men. A statement alleged to have been published on or about March 25 was incorporated in the charge. In this alleged statement the six candidates were called "stooges" and "traitors".

The *Colonial Times* was fined £75 after pleading guilty to publishing defamatory matter affecting six African candidates for Special seats in the Legislative Council. Mr. Narayan Shrinivas Thakur, the editor, was fined £25. (*The Times*, April 17 and 23, 1958.)

In London the Committee of African Organizations has launched a fund to assist the accused in meeting the costs of their defence. The fund is sponsored by Lord Altrincham, Mr. Fenner Brockway, M.P., the Rt. Hon. A. Creech Jones, M.P., Dr. T. Elias, Cdr. T. Fox-Pitt, Dr. J. Rex, and the Rev. Michael Scott. Their target is £2,000 and donations should be sent to the Kenya Defence Fund Appeal, c/o 65 Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.1.

Address to the Indian Congress

Mr. S. G. Amin in the course of his Presidential Address to the Indian Congress said: "The spirit of freedom and progress is inspiring men and women everywhere with newer hopes and greater endeavours to achieve and to advance. Kenya is no exception, it cannot remain impervious to this advancing tide. . . . Under the impact of all these forces, Kenya is also making advances in an unmistakable way."

The Constitution

"In the Legislative Council we now have fourteen African Elected Members while only two years back there was not one African Elected Member. The Lyttelton Plan Constitution has been thrown on the scrapheap and the Lennox-Boyd Constitutional changes are being implemented. And, African leadership is developing fast, it has already proved itself competent, strong of nerve and clear of vision during recent negotiations. . . .

"Europeans, official and unofficial, form an overwhelming majority in the Council's membership and they will dominate and dictate the selection of the additional Asian and African Members. African and Asian Members will not be in a similar position of strength. European Elected Members will have, for the first time in Kenya's history, the opportunity to bring into the Council four Africans and four Asians of their choice thereby reducing or countering to that extent Asian and African Elected

Members' strength and influence in the Council as a whole. As against this, the Asian and African Elected Members in the Council being in a minority will have neither the numerical strength nor the political and social influence to bring into the Council European members of their choice. By no stretch of the use of words can we call such Members 'Specially Elected Members'. They should be described as Members Specially Selected by Europeans to suit their own purposes. It must be realized frankly that this is not a step in the direction of democracy, nor even a slow or tardy step. It is a step in the opposite direction. It is not even a minor improvement which might, in future, help the growth of democracy. It will be a misnomer to call it a common roll. It is a travesty of a roll, neither democratic nor racial. It is an oligarchical contraption."

Education

Mr. Amin said there had been no pretence at equalization of facilities between the races. They were hopelessly unequal in respect of buildings, curricula, qualifications and salaries of teachers, and other "tangible" and intangible factors. He called on the governments of East Africa to commence teaching degree courses in Nairobi as soon as possible.

Land

Mr. Amin called for the ending of the reservation of the White Highlands for Europeans. Indians, he said, had been asking to be allowed to purchase unalienated lands in the Highlands from the Crown or alienated lands from Europeans who might wish to sell. Under the "Administrative Practice" in force they were prevented from doing this while hundreds of new Europeans were being helped to come in and given loans to purchase and develop land on easy terms of repayment and at nominal rates of interest. "This," he said, "is a deliberate insult and callous conduct such as self-respecting people have always found hard to forgive and still harder to forget."

African Political Parties

Mr. Amin said the Indian Congress would urge their representatives in the Legislative Council to press the Government to lift the ban on the formation of Kenya-wide African Political Parties. He said: "Another matter of considerable concern to us is the wide powers vested in the Registrar of Societies under the Emergency Regulations to debar certain societies from registration on the ground that they are likely to be used for purposes prejudicial to peace, order and good Government."

In conclusion, he quoted from an editorial in *Rock* (March 1958), the journal published by the Christian Council of Kenya. This said: "Things have come to a serious position in Kenya. It is all very well for some people to claim that the Lennox-Boyd Constitution can work without African co-operation, but that is not its purpose. The danger is that European leadership, the administration here, and the Government in Britain will bury their heads in the sand like ostriches, believing that all is well in a desert of frustration and bitterness."

Mr. Amin said: "We of other faiths also declare all injustices based on racial discrimination to be contrary to the Will of God and that they must be ended without delay or else other men and other events will do it without waiting for us."

First Woman in Legislature

Mrs. Jemimah Gecaga, who has been nominated to a seat in the Legislative Council, is the first African woman member. Mrs. Gecaga was greeted with cheers from the African Elected Members when she was sworn in. Mr. Tom Mboya explained that despite the fact that Mrs. Gecaga had come in under the new Constitution they welcomed her nomination. They had never opposed the appointment of Nominated Members.

Mrs. Gecaga was educated at a Church of Scotland Mission School and visited England with her husband, a barrister, in 1955. She has worked at the Jeanes School, teaching handicrafts and needlework, and broadcast her own Woman's Hour over the African Broadcasting Service.

Economic Difficulties

Mr. Bernard Braine (Conservative), speaking in the House of Commons on a motion urging the need for a close association between the European Economic Union and members of the Organization for European Econo-

mic Co-operation, reminded the House of Commons of the economic difficulties which Kenya has been facing. He said: "All primary producing countries have been going through difficulties in the last year or so. I single out the Colonial Territories because we still have ultimate responsibility for them. In Kenya, for example, there has been a down-turn in export earnings over the last year and this has caused considerable apprehension, at a time when, because of our own financial and economic difficulties, we have had to reduce the amount of economic aid that we can make available to that colony."

"I believe that the bottom has been reached and that Kenya has the capacity to weather the storm. Nevertheless, considerable anxiety is felt in that territory due to the fact that we are gearing the whole of African social and economic development to an agricultural revolution which requires among other things the growing of coffee for export. It is an extraordinary thing, but not only is Kenya coffee the best coffee in the world, but the Africans are the best producers of coffee in the Colony. Considerable anxiety exists about the effect of the inclusion of overseas territories in the European Economic Community upon the sale of Kenya coffee in Europe. Germany, for instance, is a far greater buyer of Kenya coffee than is the United Kingdom. Anxiety also exists among the other commodity producers of East Africa. I claim—with some justification, as chairman of the British Commonwealth Producers' Organization in London—that this anxiety is widespread throughout the Commonwealth."

The Rt. Hon. H. Marquand, M.P. (Labour), in an article in *The Times* (May 5, 1958) said: "Until 1955, Kenya, in spite of the emergency, was enjoying a boom. Its geographical income had been increasing for the past eight years by an annual average of 23 per cent. In 1956, however, the income was estimated to be no more than it had been in 1955. . . ."

"Kenya has not suffered so severely from the fall in price of raw materials as have other underdeveloped countries in Africa and Asia. The price of her chief export, coffee, has been reasonably well maintained; and there has been no heavy loss of revenue from tea, pyrethrum or chemicals. Even sisal has not shown as heavy a decline as have some other materials. None the less, the present uncertainty, with the prospect of still further decline in demand from the United States, is depressing. Moreover, Kenya derives a substantial income from handling and transporting materials exported from other parts of Africa: a decline of cotton exports from Uganda, for example, can adversely affect the trade and earnings of Mombasa. . . ."

"Though the Government has rightly said that 'primary emphasis' in its development programme 'must be on agriculture' and the water supply needed for it, yet it has been able to budget for an expenditure of only £9 million over the next three years, whereas the plan for the three years just ending provided for £14 million. Within the reduced total there is, however, an increased provision for African agriculture: that that is a correct priority from the sociological point of view, no informed person could possibly doubt. It is almost a tragedy, however, that more funds cannot now be provided for wholly practicable developments which are urgently needed. . . ."

"The African population has recently been increasing rapidly and today 40 per cent of it consists of persons under working age. Somehow new land or new opportunities elsewhere must be provided within a few years for a very large proportion of these youngsters. A valuable part of the plan—already showing successful results in the Fort Hall area—is the provision of new land by irrigation; but more needs to be done and could be done if resources could be made available. Even the allocation for forest planting has been cut for the next three years from £262,000 to £126,000. . . ."

"In Kenya, however, as elsewhere in Africa, though industry may rely for a long time on private enterprise, agriculture, and the essential infrastructure of development—roads, railways, water for power and irrigation, health and housing services, and education—cannot possibly be provided at a speed and on a scale adequate to the needs of the time without the provision of public capital. In the development programme, local government, health and housing are allocated £3,750,000 (£5,742,000 in the previous comparable period) and African education £2 million (compared with £3,267,000). These, of course, are for development and not for current expenditure; but the prospective increase in the adult population

and the almost desperate desire of Africans for education for their children are so great that the provision is certainly inadequate. Much discussion is going on within the Council of Europe about the possibility of greater aid to underdeveloped countries, especially in Africa. . . .

"But it may also, not unreasonably, be asked whether Kenya itself might not make some special effort to raise rather more capital from its own resources that it has hitherto planned to do. The average annual earnings of a European male in 1956 were £1,083 in agriculture and £1,396 in industry and commerce: the corresponding figures for an African male were £32 and £74. Direct taxes are levied upon both; but income tax is kept low in order to encourage capital formation and to compete with other African territories in encouraging new enterprise to come in from outside. In present circumstances, it should surely not be beyond the wit of man to devise a measure of austerity for those enjoying higher incomes which would provide sorely needed public capital without seriously discouraging the entry of capital from overseas."

The Budget

Mr. E. A. Vasey, the Minister for Finance, summarized "the highlights" of the budget proposals in the *Kenya Weekly News* (May 9, 1958). He said that the general financial position had turned out better than the pessimists forecast—there was estimated to be a deficit on the working for the year 1957-8 of £295,500, which, placed against a credit balance of £524,000, will enable the Colony to start 1958-9 with a credit balance of some £228,000. Far-reaching alterations were proposed in the field of personal allowances and the graduation of income tax which, he said, was expected to result in a net overall loss of some £300,000 in the year 1958-9. In the final result of the year, the Colony may be left with an estimated debit balance on recurrent and emergency expenditure of £32,627.

Concluding his budget speech, Mr. Vasey said: "I have now been a Member of this Council for almost thirteen years—for eight of those years I have been a Member of the Government. How often I have heard the ravens of disaster croaking in this Council and outside, telling us that the country is finished—that no capital is entering the country—that capital is leaving the country—that we have borrowed too much and too soon—that we have borrowed too little and too late; that the economic future is dim, grey and even black. Yet year after year their prophecies have proved false. In that time I have seen the national income of this country rise from £50 million to £170 million. I have seen the country pass through an Emergency which has cost about £54 million, of which £28 million has been provided by the United Kingdom Government, but the balance has been found from our own resources. Yet we leave that period with little increase in our overall level of taxation and have indeed already found it possible to do away with some of those taxes which had to be imposed at the height of the Emergency. We have every reason, in the light of that record, to face the future with confidence. We have no reason for lack of faith in ourselves and in our country. If we, in this Council and in this country, either as individuals or as groups, can but learn to work with our aim as victory over poverty—victory over disease—as the creation of a happy and contented people, Kenya need not fear for its future which can then be written as one of steady progress towards an even brighter prosperity than the past has seen."

Detained Under the Emergency

The Secretary of State for the Colonies told the House of Commons that on March 31, 1958, there were 10,202 detainees held under the Emergency Powers. By April 14, 2,569 persons had appealed to the Advisory Committees. In 1,088 cases the Committees recommended release; 1,058 persons have been released, including thirty-six in whose case the recommendation was not immediately acceptable at the time that it was made. In the remaining thirty cases the recommendation is being considered and no decision has yet been taken.

The case of Achieng Oneko was again raised in the House of Commons by Mr. John Stonehouse (Labour) who said that Mr. Oneko was one of the leaders of the Kenya African Union. He, along with Jomo Kenyatta and several others, was accused at the famous trial which took place in Kapenguria. Despite his acquittal on all charges brought against him,

however, Achieng Oneko has been kept in detention during the last four years.

Mr. Stonehouse pointed out that in his reply in June 1957 the Under-Secretary of State said that 1,058 detainees had been released as a result of advice from the Advisory Committee. On April 17, 1958, the Colonial Secretary said again that 1,058 had been released as a result of the Advisory Committee's advice. Thus, no case had been acted upon in a full ten months as a result of advice from the Advisory Committee. Mr. Lennox-Boyd in reply said there had been virtually no new detentions in recent months and that, of course, is the explanation for those figures. He said that he had been assured by the Governor that in this case he could not possibly take action to grant the release, but Mr. Oneko's case, like every other case, was reviewed at regular intervals administratively. (*Hansard*, April 17 and 29, 1958.)

Importance of African Housing

Speaking at a luncheon given by the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Wilfred Havelock, Minister for Local Government, Health and Town Planning, said that good housing in rural and urban areas was important, because of its effects on the physical and mental health of the inhabitants.

On the urban housing problem Mr. Havelock said that the Government had been trying to break the vicious circle of the expense of providing an adequate unit for a married man at a rent within the pocket of the average employee. The figure on which they would have liked to work was a rental of 20 per cent of the total wage. With the limited capital available to the Government for lending to local authorities, housing demand was outstripping supply, and since the cost of money was so great, this was reflected in the rents charged. "We have not achieved the ideal economic rent of 20 per cent of the average employee's wage packet, but we continue to strive to reduce the cost of building, of administration and services." The time of the itinerant labourer staying in the towns for a few months and then returning to his reserve was almost over, the Minister continued. It was the Government's policy to direct all their efforts to providing a stable married population in the towns. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, April 3, 1958.)

Kikuyu Secret Society

One hundred and fifty-three Kikuyu suspected of being leaders and organizers of *Kiama Kia Muingi*, the Kikuyu secret society which was proscribed in January,¹ have been taken into custody.

Beginning among the Mau Mau passive wing it originated in the Kiambu Reserve, but had spread recently to other Kikuyu districts and some of the Settled Areas. It is generally aimed against all Kikuyu who helped to maintain law and order and who opposed Mau Mau during the Emergency, and to stimulate anti-Government and anti-European feeling. Ex-detainees have not been found among the organizers of the society.

Separate European and Afro-Asian Hostels

A new Y.W.C.A. hostel in Nairobi for Asian and African girls, and an extension to the existing hostel for European girls will, it is hoped, be completed in the next year, now that money for the buildings—£23,000 for the Afro-Asian and £30,000 for the extension—is available. Grants for the Afro-Asian Hostel have come from the City Council, the Government, the War Memorial Fund and the Africa Trust. It has been necessary to raise a loan to finance the building of the extension. (*East African Standard*, April 18, 1958.)

Permanent Entry Permit Refused²

The Kenya Supreme Court has dismissed an application by Mr. Erik Marles that the Chief Secretary's refusal to grant him a permanent entry permit should be reviewed in court. The Court said that the Chief Secretary acted administratively and not judicially, and it was satisfied that there was no denial of natural justice on the consideration of the appeal by the Minister, to whom Mr. Marles had been given the opportunity to put his case in writing. (*Manchester Guardian*, May 10, 1958.)

¹DIGEST V, 4. ²DIGEST V, 5.

Population Rises by 1 Million in Ten Years

The population in the middle of 1957 was estimated by the East African Statistical Department at 6,254,000, of whom 5,990,000 were Africans, 62,700 Europeans, 161,700 Indians and Goans and 34,300 Arabs.

The European population rose by 37,800 between 1946 and 1957; the African population by 903,000; the Indian and Goan population by 73,300 and the number of Arabs rose by 11,000. (*Kenya Newsletter*, April 10, 1958.)

Military Base

Mr. A. T. Lennox-Boyd, Colonial Secretary, in a brief statement in the House of Commons on the military base at Kahawa, said that this cantonment for British troops would cost between £2 million and £2½ million and would be a link in the chain of Commonwealth defence. The East African Governments were kept fully informed on the subject. Mr. John Stonehouse (Labour) asked if the Minister was aware of the widespread concern in the Colony, because although the African people do not want Colonial Office rule to end at this time, it is feared that eventually the establishment of a defence base will be used as an excuse against self-determination, as in the case of Cyprus, and perhaps with the same disastrous results. The Minister replied that Mr. Stonehouse had completely misjudged local reaction, and agreed with Mr. Patrick Wall that the majority in Kenya welcomed the base as Kenya's contribution to the Commonwealth and also as affording a degree of stability to the whole Commonwealth. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, May 15, 1958.)

Tanganyika

The Governor's Farewell Speech

SIR EDWARD TWINING made his last speech to the Legislative Council on May 6, 1958. Reviewing the Territory's progress he said: "In 1938 revenue was just over £2 million; in 1948 it was approximately £6½ million and in 1957-8 it will be just over £19 million. In 1938 the total value of import and export trade was approximately £7½ million; in 1948 it was £39½ million and in 1957 it was over £90 million."

Referring to the visit of Mr. Eugene Black, President of the World Bank, the Governor said: "Mr. Black did not come to discuss any particular applications for loans but rather to acquaint himself with our economic progress and to get a general impression of our prospects."

Sir Edward spoke of a Government Paper entitled "Proposals for an African Land Tenure Policy in Rural Areas". "This paper," he said, "results from the study of the recommendations of the East Africa Royal Commission and of the Arusha Land Tenure Conference. The proposals are intended to satisfy the growing aspirations of progressive Africans to own their own land while at the same time to allow African customary land tenure to remain undisturbed in areas where there is no general desire for individual ownership. . . . No attempt will be made to force a change from the customary land tenure system. . . . It should be regarded as the first proposals for modifying our land tenure policy."

On higher education, the Governor said: "A further working party will be coming to East Africa during the summer of this year and one of the important matters on which it will be asked to make recommendations is whether the site near Morogoro already obtained by the Tanganyika Higher Education Trust Fund Board with a view to its being used as the site for our University College is, in all the circumstances, the most suitable that can be found in Tanganyika." He said the number of candidates applying for bursaries overseas for which increased provision had been made was small, but this was because the policy was only to make awards in cases where there were no appropriate courses available in East Africa. The reason for this policy was that large sums were being spent on the building up of institutions of higher education in East Africa. If at the same time students are to be sent overseas, particularly the best students, for courses already provided in East Africa, it would clearly be not only an uneconomic policy but would also prevent the institutions of higher education in East Africa from attaining standards comparable to those in similar institutions overseas.

Sir Edward said that the Government welcomed the growth of political organizations as "an integral part of the political system of the Territory, provided always that they conform to recognized standards in the conduct of their business and that their actions are not such as to usurp or undermine the authority of the central and local government. Some of the political leaders, perhaps quite naturally, are impatient for further constitutional advance. As I think is well known, I have always welcomed a vigorous approach to all the problems of the Territory; but it is the duty of Government—a duty which it intends to discharge—to see that the pace is set at a speed which is suitable to local conditions and circumstances and not to give way to the clamour of those who, seeking to retain the loyalty of their supporters, sometimes make exaggerated demands incompatible with the realities of the situation and which they themselves must surely know to be unrealistic." The present constitution had been intended to last until the time came for the main communities in the Territory to consider future forms of representation. It might be that the appropriate time for such consideration would be after the elections had been completed in 1959. It was proposed to establish a Post Elections Committee which would be in a position to consider, amongst other matters, an examination of the existing constituency boundaries and whether any changes could be made in the existing provisions for parity representation.

Sir Edward described the present ministerial system as only an interim measure and added that at some stage a full ministerial system would have to be created. The Governor then said: "In order to remove any doubts that may still exist in anyone's mind I am authorized by the Secretary of State to say that in relation to the structure and machinery of Central Government no constitutional change, except possibly for the proposals now under consideration for decentralization, will be made until the recommendations of the Post Elections Committee have been considered. One of the reasons, is so that this Government and Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom may have the benefit of the advice of elected representatives of the people when examining certain steps towards further constitutional progress. I should make it clear now that although this Council will be duly represented on the Post Elections Committee by Elected Members and Nominated Members, Government must retain the right to include on the Committee any person, although not a Member of this Council, who because of his knowledge and experience might be able to give valuable assistance to the Committee in formulating their recommendations. Consideration is being given to referring to the Post Elections Committee the question of whether some form of a Council of State should be instituted. Although no definite proposals have yet been formulated it appears to me that there would be considerable merit in establishing such a Council in which the wisdom and experience of the traditional authorities would find expression, and on which might sit people who would tend to be discouraged by inclination or other commitments from the more controversial type of politics for which the forum is Legislative Council. . . ."

"The contribution which, in particular, these traditional authorities are able to make to a solution to the problems of the Territory is indeed massive. In this connexion I was pleased to hear that the second Chiefs' Convention had some constructive and pertinent comments to make relative to this matter. Government will have some points to put to the next Chiefs' Convention in June with a view, perhaps, if the Convention agrees, to inaugurating certain joint studies which would form the ground work for subsequent consideration of this important matter by the Post Elections Committee."

He reminded Members of the Council that "our policy is to promote, with the utmost vigour and by all possible means, the aims of the international trusteeship system which in effect means the promotion of the political advancement of the inhabitants towards self-government or independence."

African Advancement

Mr. J. Fletcher-Cooke, Special Representative for Tanganyika, told the U.N. Trusteeship Council that since the Visiting Mission left the Territory in September 1957, there had been a steady increase in the number of Africans appointed to posts of responsibility.

^aDIGEST V, 5.

At the present time there were two African District Officers actually serving and two more attending a course at Cambridge who would be taking up their appointments before the end of this year. Consideration was also being given to the promotion of two or three Assistant District Officers to the District Officer grade so that there should be a total of six or seven African District Officers in the service before the end of this year. Further, two more Makerere students had recently been selected for appointment as District Officers and would be sent for training to Cambridge during 1958/9 with a view to their taking up their appointments towards the end of next year—thus bringing the total number of African District Officers to eight or nine.

In addition, nine Africans had recently been appointed as Assistant District Officers and if Legislative Council votes the necessary funds for additional posts in this grade there would be no fewer than forty-six African Assistant District Officers—in addition to the District Officers mentioned above—in the service before the end of 1958.

Mr. Fletcher-Cooke said that there were forty-three separate in-service and pre-service training courses for Government officers and for candidates aspiring to appointment in the Government services.

As regards higher education, Mr. Fletcher-Cooke said there were 181 Tanganyika African students at Makerere and fourteen at the Royal Technical College, Nairobi, during 1957. It was expected that by July 1958 there would be a total of 228 Tanganyikans at Makerere. In addition, eighty-one African students were attending institutions of higher education outside East Africa. Of this total, thirty-three are studying in the United Kingdom on Government scholarships and three at Eire Universities on scholarships supplemented from Government bursary funds. Of the remaining forty-five African students, six are privately financed in the United Kingdom and others are studying on scholarships offered by other governments or other official bodies and are distributed as follows: thirteen in U.S.A., sixteen in India, two in Pakistan, two in Liberia, two in Italy, two in Ceylon, two in Ethiopia (on U.N. scholarships).

Some 770 students were attending the Trade Schools at Ifunda and Moshi this year. In addition, seventy-five students, including women, had been accepted for a one-year clerical course at the Dar es Salaam Technical Institute.

Upper House Proposed

Mr. Ivor Bayldon, one of the European Representative Members in the Legislative Council, and until recently chairman of the Non-Official Members' Association, has urged the establishment of an Upper House, or Senate, at the earliest possible moment. In the course of a memorandum on the subject he has written:

"... If Western standards are to survive, the irresponsible, self-seeking, deliberately misleading agitators must be countered by equally vocal and more convincing leaders who are not seeking power and position for themselves but are genuinely trying to maintain steady and realistic progress towards the ultimate goal of self-government and independence within the Commonwealth. . . . These people are the chiefs, the real representatives of African opinion. This important fact has been overlooked, and until very recently there has been a tendency on the Government's part to relegate the chief more and more to concern with tribal law and custom and less and less to active participation in the affairs of the country. . . .

"The modern trend is for the chief to be assisted by councils, some of whose members are commoners, but to the majority of the tribe the chief is the fountain-head. Because of the lack of real understanding of the feelings of the people the chief is often required to put across a policy for which his people are not ready or which they do not understand. Lack of a proper forum for the collective views of the chiefs is a very great weakness in the system of the government of this country. . . .

"A further advantage of the Upper Chamber is that it will provide a statutory body, comprised largely of Africans, who will represent the vast body of goodwill in the country. Thus the weight of this moderate opinion will make itself felt both within Tanganyika and outside it; and it will be led by people who have traditionally carried the burden of responsibility for generations and are best qualified to shoulder the additional responsibility which has arisen out of the political advances which have

already taken place. . . . The Upper Chamber, like the House of Lords in England, should have some delaying power in respect of legislation passed by the Legislative Council. These powers could be reserved for specific subjects, such as constitutional legislation, land legislation, and similar explosive matters. More important would be the consultation of this body in regard to the formation of policy for these 'explosive' subjects. Ultimate decisions on policy will continue to rest with the Government, as theirs is the duty of governing, but the present approach through the Executive Council, behind closed doors, is not serving the country. There should be open discussion, exploratory in nature, in public first. Thereafter the Executive Council could arrive at their conclusions for submission to the Legislative Council."

Mr. Bayldon said that he would probably introduce a Private Member's motion at the June meeting of the Legislative Council, proposing the establishment of a House of Chiefs. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, May 8, 1958.)

Population

The 1957 census shows that the total population of Tanganyika is just over 8½ million, made up of 8½ million Africans, 21,000 Europeans, 72,000 Asians, 19,000 Arabs, 5,000 Goans, and 7,000 others.

Uganda

No Premature Self-Government

ADDRESSING the annual meeting of Uganda Chamber of Commerce in Kampala, Sir Frederick Crawford said that Her Majesty's Government would eventually hand over the government of the Protectorate to the people of Uganda, but it would not hand over the reins until it was clear that there was an alternative government fully capable of assuming the responsibility.

The Governor added, "This term implies *inter alia* a government which can be expected not to behave irresponsibly in its dealings with businesses and business established in the country—for on them the future prosperity of the country will largely depend." What prospective investors wished to be assured about, apart from the availability of services and local staff, was that with political and constitutional advance, and the approach in time of self-government, their businesses were not going to be grabbed without compensation, or stifled by discriminatory taxation, or inhibited by restrictions on the export of dividends. "I think from all I have seen here," the Governor said, "from the glimpses I take sometimes into the future, because of the presence of our British neighbours—particularly Kenya—and because of our already integrated economic and communications systems, such an assurance can be given." (*Uganda News*, April 11, 1958.)

Civil Service Recruitment

A statement published in the *Government Gazette* (April 9, 1958) revealed that there has been a review of the extent to which candidates for responsible posts in the Civil Service or in teaching, with the required professional or academic qualifications, are likely to be found from local students now on courses in the U.K. or in East Africa. There are at present 279 students at Makerere and the Royal Technical College, 262 students known to be in the U.K., and thirty officers in the Government Training Grade.

The Government believes that over the next five years "it should be possible to find local candidates to fill about one-quarter of the present establishment" of administrative and professional posts in the A and B salary scales taking these as a group.

In the C scales, local staff are to be trained "as quickly as circumstances permit and thus reduce the need to recruit new expatriate staff".

The Government has decided that in future its overseas scholarship awards will be clearly related to the probable requirements for qualified staff who cannot be trained in East Africa. The statement emphasises that "as a result of this policy, Government would normally require all scholars financed from Government funds, who complete their courses

successfully, to take up the appointments for which they have been trained". It adds that "it will be clearly impossible for the Government indefinitely to guarantee employment to all qualified Africans who present themselves."

It also adds: "It will be equally important that awards by the Kabaka's Government and by other African local authorities should similarly be related to their respective requirements, if there is not to be a wastage of their resources."

The Budget

The Minister of Finance, Mr. Christopher Melmoth, presenting his budget proposals to the Legislative Council said that there are to be specific import duties on certain materials and manufactured garments combined with an *ad valorem* import duty of 30 per cent on textiles as a whole and a 25 cent per gallon increase in the price of petrol. The company or standard rate of income tax goes up from Sh 4 to Sh 5/50 and there is to be a new Undistributed Income Tax of Sh 9/50 in the £ on private companies in which there is no substantial public interest. The excise duty on sugar is reduced to 8 cents a pound which will bring the controlled selling price down by six or seven cents a pound. There are personal income tax reductions mainly in the form of improved personal allowances.

Mr. Melmoth said that despite a sharp cutting down of the rate of growth of Government expenditure, Uganda faced a likely deficit of about £1½ million on the revenue budget at the end of the present year and a probable deficit of a little over £2 million next year. The new measures should bring in about £1½ million and the effect of the Government's proposals would be to reduce the estimated £2 million deficit in 1958-9 to about £750,000.

Fluctuations in an agricultural economy were inevitable but, said Mr. Melmoth, "in my view the picture is still one of expanding production in almost every field of the country's economy". The reasons why this encouraging picture was associated with a pause in the natural growth of revenue were to be found in factors outside Uganda's control: chiefly the downward trend in world prices influenced by the American trade recession, also the tightening of credit and the slowing down of investment expenditure. These, together with the drought, had checked the growth of incomes this year.

It was imperative, he said, to slow down the rate of expansion of the services until they were sure of their ability to pay for more. Government sympathized with suggestions for more schools, hospitals, roads and so on, but it could not spend more on these services than the general public was paying for them.

Government agreed with the recommendation of the Income Tax Commission that income tax should be a non-racial tax and that the present exemption of Africans and African companies should be discontinued. However, the implications were not wholly fiscal and the proposal would have to be considered as part of the review of financial arrangements between the Kabaka's Government and the African Local Governments on the one hand and the Protectorate Government on the other. The review would be undertaken later this year and in determining what share of the cost of the transferred services the Protectorate Government could meet from general revenue, the possibility of raising additional revenue from African income tax would be taken into account. African Poll Tax might then gradually become a local government tax.

At present the poorer peasant, who grew coffee and cotton, was making a much bigger contribution to the tax revenues of the country than many a much wealthier African. This would be largely corrected if Africans were no longer exempt from income tax. (*Uganda News*, May 7, 1958.)

Direct Elections Controversy Continues¹

The Governor of Uganda replied to the Lukiko decision to postpone indefinitely election preparations until consultations had been held on the composition of the Legislative Council and the introduction of a common roll. He said that he understood the Lukiko to mean that the Kabaka's Government did not want direct elections in Buganda this year. Therefore, he had suspended arrangements for elections after "making every effort

to give effect to the agreed recommendations in the report on direct elections in Buganda, submitted in June 1957, by the representatives of the Protectorate and the Kabaka's Governments".

At meetings held in Kampala, the United Congress Party has affirmed its support for the Lukiko's objections to direct elections, while the Democratic Party has called for a referendum among the people of Buganda on the ground that the people want elections.

Mr. S. B. Kibuka, Provincial Leader for Buganda, declared that elections would take place, however much some people objected to them. Political parties had served to unite the people of Uganda and his party stood for the whole of the Protectorate. Mr. P. Sendikwanawa, a Representative Member of the Lukiko, said the people should have the right to elect their own representatives. He "regretted" the Lukiko's recent rejection of elections. Several hundred people attended the United Congress Party meeting, where Mr. A. Sekabanja said the U.C.P. did not wish to deprive local governments or rulers of their own powers. (*Uganda Argus*, March 31, 1958.)

Mr. A. K. Mayanja, writing to the *Uganda Argus* (March 29, 1958) criticized the Lukiko's decision. He said: "Consider its reasons for rejecting Legislative Council elections. This, it says, is because of disagreement on 'the position of the Kabaka, the composition of the Legislative Council, and the proposed introduction of a common roll with safeguards for minorities in 1961'. This sounds fine and patriotic but it is not true. It is no more than tendentious propaganda to conceal the real motives, whilst shamelessly capitalizing on the nationalist sentiment. For examine the facts. In the first place, none of these reasons can explain why the Lukiko has rejected direct elections for its own members. No, Sir, and I believe even a child can see that the true reason for rejecting these elections is because the present members of the Lukiko have sufficient sense to realize that they would stand no chance of being elected if a rational and fair system of election were to be introduced. So far as the position of the Kabaka is concerned, the Lukiko has only demanded of the Uganda Government that the latter should 'make the position of the Kabaka positively clear'. . . . The Lukiko will find His Highness's legal and constitutional position fully defined in the Agreement of 1955. . . .

"The argument about the composition of Legislative Council could, in another context, have been sound, but to bring it as ground to reject elections, which the Lukiko had agreed to when Legislative Council was composed as it would substantially be after the elections, merely lays the Lukiko open to the charge that it is not acting *bona fide*. This is the more so since the few changes that there have been have had the effect of increasing African representation.

"No; the real reason for rejecting these elections is the fear which the Katikiro expressed, perhaps unwittingly, that they would almost certainly be won by the political parties, whose importance would thereby be enhanced. But Mr. Kintu should realize that political parties have come to stay. There is no chance of a Saudi Arabia in Buganda."

A resolution of "no confidence" in the Buganda Ministry and a statement deprecating the "blind and misguided" obstruction of direct elections in Buganda, has been passed by the student members of the Uganda Association in Leeds in the north of England. (*Uganda Argus*, March 27, 1958.) "Strong support" for the Lukiko's decision has been expressed by the President of the Uganda Nationalist Party Movement, Mr. Y. Sekabanja. It was very important that the position of the Kabaka should be defined at this stage, Mr. Sekabanja said, adding that he was opposed to the discussion of the position of the Kabaka by the Legislative Council—an institution which was not democratic. Moreover, he added, it was a council for businessmen.

The Ankole branch of the Democratic Party has petitioned the Governor of Uganda to "impose" direct elections in Ankole, despite the Eishengyero's second rejection of them. The Ankole region of the Uganda National Congress has written to the Enganzi of Ankole, Mr. K. Nganwa, announcing that it has no confidence in him or those of his chiefs who did not support the election proposal. But the Governor told the Ankole that it was never his intention to impose direct elections.

Legislative Council Reform

The Progressive Party has put forward its views on the reform of the

¹DIGEST V, 5.

Legislative Council in a letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies (March 18, 1958); the Council is described as "a mockery of democracy" and it is stated that in order to achieve self-government as we want it we declare the following indispensable six points which must be accepted: (i) The Legislature must be Africanized at once. There must be an increased representation of the African on the Legislative Council; (ii) the representative side of the Legislative Council must be wholly elected by the people and none nominated by the Governor; (iii) this making us a copy of the Mother Country must stop; (iv) there must be true Africanization of the services even if there is a risk of lowering the standards as it will give us the opportunity to show our worth. How can we be judged if we are not given the responsibility? The present system of promoting Africans to salary grades without related responsibility is worthless to the country. It is a sham to see that in the railway and customs, the post office, the banks, etc., the African always occupies a third place. If the African had been taken in strides with the ruling race, perhaps there would not be any talk of lowering the standards now. In any case what standards at the counter, in the post office and in similar places, is the African incapable of maintaining? (v) Africans must be encouraged to invest more and more. We welcome outside investment but European or other funds should not be used alone without African money, however small the amount may be, with the provision to buy controlling shares as time goes on. If foreign capital is used alone, it always means some measure of foreign control; (vi) the drainage of money from Uganda to other countries because people are frightened of our self-determination must stop. Very few people have brought money here. All their money they have made here with African sweat and labour. Therefore, to take it out of the country under such an excuse is to deprive the country unreasonably of capital which it so much needs for its own development.

The aim from now on must be to transform the Government from being foreign to a Government that really belongs to Uganda. Britain should play more and more the roll of a trustee or a guide and less of a governor. The official policy should be to allow as many capable Africans as possible to replace the British officials in every sphere of Government. We can no longer accept a third place in our own country. We want integration of our own life with the best in the Western civilization, but the present one-sided policy of Government cannot help us to achieve this.

American Aid

Two representatives of the American International Co-operation Administration, Mr. George Hoffman and Mr. Robert Powers, have visited Uganda to see its problems at first hand and to assist in programme planning. One of the Uganda Government's requests to the I.C.A. was for assistance in increasing the level of efficiency in the mining of wolfram ores.

Mr. Powers described the two methods by which I.C.A. helps underdeveloped countries: first, by sending United States technicians to the overseas country; second, by sponsoring the travel of people from the country to the United States to study particular problems or get training in specific subjects. It hoped to be able to help Uganda principally in the agricultural field, but also in technical or vocational education. (*Department of Information*, April 25, 1958.)

Mr. Eugene Black, President of the International Bank, said at Kampala he believed the Bank's main interest would be directed towards Africa in the next ten to fifteen years. He has just completed a tour of East Africa.

He inspected the proposed site of a new hydro-electric scheme on the Nile near Jinja, for which Uganda is applying to the Bank for a £10 million loan. After general discussions with officials here he said these talks would "lead to closer co-operation between the Bank and Uganda".

Questioned on Uganda's prospects for assistance, he said he believed Uganda creditworthy for a loan. The Protectorate's affairs had been run "extremely well" by Britain. (*Daily Telegraph*, April 7, 1958.)

Africa's Trade Union H.Q.

Uganda is to become the centre of trade union education for the whole of Africa. Mr. Albert Hammerton, Special Representative in Africa of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, is seeking a suitable

site in Kampala, for the headquarters. From £100,000 which has been set aside for the purpose, he expects either to purchase a suitable building or, failing that, to arrange for one to be built. Mr. Hammerton said that Kampala was chosen because it was felt that the town had good race relations. Another point in its favour was that it was the home of Makerere College. (*Department of Information*, April 26, 1958.)

Congress Leader Released

The High Court upheld an appeal by Mr. Joseph Kiwanuka, chairman of the Uganda National Congress, against a sentence of 5½ years' imprisonment imposed by the Buganda Court for allegedly plotting to assassinate the Kabaka and four other leaders.

The Attorney-General, Mr. R. L. Dreschfield, told the Court that the Crown had never supported the original prosecution, but despite the advice of both the Protectorate and the Buganda police, the Kabaka's Government had insisted on prosecuting. Mr. Dreschfield claimed that when the Kabaka's police prosecuted they failed to present evidence they held which supported Kiwanuka. Mr. Justice McKisack said that from the record it appeared that the Kabaka's Court convicted on evidence of one witness only, whom they recognized as unreliable. (*Manchester Guardian*, May 15, 1958.)

While he was waiting trial Mr. Kiwanuka, who is a Representative Member in the Lukiko, tried to take his seat. He was ordered out of the Lukiko because he had a criminal charge pending in the courts, and he now faces a further charge before the Kabaka's Court alleging that he created a disturbance in the Lukiko when he resisted the Speaker's order, expelling him.

British Somaliland

Legislative Council Commission

THE Commission of Inquiry into the possibility of making the Legislative Council more representative has visited Berbera, Borama and Abdulkadir to receive submissions and has been greeted with great interest in each of the towns. In Berbera the district representatives were strongly in favour of direct elections in the towns and election by acclamation in the interior. A more conservative view, however, appears to have been held in the west. The Esa elders at Abdulkadir considered that the election of all the Unofficial Members would be too advanced and might lead to friction. They recommended the election of one Member for each district with a further twelve Members to be appointed by the Governor. They also said that only males of 28 years or over should be eligible to stand as candidates and they should be men of some means and literate in English or Arabic. All Somali men of over 21 years should be entitled to vote.

At Borama a system of indirect election by means of electoral colleges was favoured. It was recommended that the number of Unofficial Members should be increased to sixteen, of whom four should be nominated by the Governor and twelve elected by indirect election. A minority favoured direct election both in the towns and the interior and asked for the Unofficial Members to be increased to eighteen, fourteen of whom should be elected. (*War Somali Sidihi*, May 3, 1958.)

In replies to Parliamentary questions, the Colonial Secretary said during the current period of 1955-60 grants of about £1½ million had been approved from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund for the Somaliland Protectorate. They would be used for education, agriculture, water supplies, harbour improvement and health services. Work on the Berbera Port Improvement Scheme had made considerable progress; a major scheme for dealing with the problem of tuberculosis in the Protectorate had been approved; work on the designing of the new secondary school at Sheikh had been started; work had begun on a large-scale scheme for rural water supplies; and a new intermediate boarding school at Dayala was almost complete; a Commission had been appointed by the Governor to examine the methods by which Unofficial Membership of the Legislative Council can be made more representative. (*Hansard*, April 1, 1958.)

†DIGEST V, 4.

Zanzibar

Racial Laws Abolished

ZANZIBAR has abolished two racially discriminatory laws. One concerns the authority of junior administrative officers in charge of small areas, who have had authority over Africans only; now any person resisting or obstructing them will be liable to a fine or imprisonment. The second rescinds a clause in the Prisons Decree providing that European, Asian, and African prisoners shall be kept apart. The Commissioner of Prisons has now been given discretion to group prisoners by taking into consideration their social, educational and culinary standards. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, April 24, 1958.)

Opposition to Communalism

The *Adal Insaf*² (March 1, 1958) attacked the Government for its decision to carry out a census "on communal lines". An editorial said that people would be required to state their tribes or their country of origin. "The administration is thus not only making its own task of preparing statistics difficult but it is admitted by all reasonable men that communalism is the very antithesis of progress and prosperity. Those countries that still cling to the antediluvian theory of communalism stand condemned by all . . . the only race or tribe that exists in Zanzibar is the human race."

Ethiopia

Educational Progress and Plans

MR. M. NEQNIQ, Director of Research and Curriculum Development, Ethiopian Ministry of Education, stated that since 1945 the enrolment in Government schools alone increased by 96 per cent. Educational expenditure had increased from almost nothing in 1941 to 20 million Ethiopian dollars in 1957. This expenditure has been estimated to be 20 per cent of the national budget of the country.

Future needs included: the formulation of a broad, sound and realistic long-term plan; a sufficiently co-ordinated and efficiently managed administration; an increase in the output of trained teachers from less than 300 to 600 a year; more modern and up-to-date materials need to be prepared and printed in sufficient quantity to serve not only the Government schools but also church and private schools; a more efficient, sufficient and fair method of allocating funds for education is an urgent need. Immediate action to increase the proportion of girls in schools, at present only 15 per cent of the school population: and finally, the adaptation of the curriculum to the peculiarities of the cultural, social, and environmental characteristics of Ethiopia.

Mr. Neqniq said that higher institutions of learning had been allowed to expand too fast in relation to lower levels so that only 3 per cent of the school age population were in the schools and drastic steps were needed to remedy the situation. (*Ethiopia Observer*, March 1958.)

SUDAN

Industrial Development

FIRMS that qualify as "approved enterprises" get certain relief from the Profits Tax as part of a scheme to encourage industrial development. Industries so far approved include a brewery and factories for the production of glass, knitwear, soap, canvas shoes, nails, packing material, re-treaded tyres, and air conditioners. These industries have a total capital of more than £5.3 million, and employ over 11,500 workers. (*Official News Bulletin*, March 27, 1958.)

Foreign Aid

Under the International Co-operation Administration, the United

²Newspaper which supports the Zanzibar Nationalist Party.

States made an agreement to assist Sudan with a road-building programme, locating water in desert areas, and with agricultural research to find satisfactory cash crops as an alternative to cotton. The International Bank also agreed to provide a loan of £8 million to buy equipment and supplies for railway development.

At the same time, the Sudanese Foreign Minister informed Mr. Teplov, the Soviet Ambassador, that Sudan is prepared to accept Russian aid if offered. The Minister emphasized that any help must be unconditional.

M.P. Sentenced

A southern Sudanese Member of Parliament, Ezboni Mandiri, has been sentenced at Juba to the maximum sentence of nine years' imprisonment for sending anonymous letters to the Governor of Equatoria Province and the District Commissioner of Moru—both northerners—threatening them with death. In view of the danger of any form of insecurity in southern Sudan, which has never fully recovered after the 1955 rising, the Court passed this heavy sentence as an example to others. The Court included two sultans of Moru tribe, of which Mandiri is a member. Mandiri is the president and only representative in Parliament of the Federal Party, a small new body which is more outspoken than the Southern Liberal Party in advocating a federal constitution. (*The Times*, April 3 and 5, 1958.)

The University

Professor Michael Grant, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Khartoum, having decided to return to the Chair of Humanities at Edinburgh University, the Council has appointed Sayed Nasr Elhag Ali, a director of the Ministry of Education, to be Vice-Chancellor for four years from July next. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, April 10, 1958.)

SOUTH AFRICA

The General Election

THE General Election held on April 16 resulted in a heavy win for the Nationalist (Government) Party, which obtained seven additional seats in the Assembly and a substantial increase of votes. It is the first party in the Union's history to have secured a third five-year term of office in succession. There was an unusually heavy poll of some 90 per cent.

The state of the parties in the new Parliament is: Nationalist Party 103, United Party fifty-three. In the previous Parliament the Nationalist Party held ninety-six seats; the United Party fifty-two; the Labour Party four, and Independents four. Thus all other parties and independents have been eliminated.

The two Labour Party candidates, Mr. Alec Hepple and Mr. Leo Lovell, obtained only 2,607 votes between them. All three Liberty Party candidates were defeated, two of them losing their deposits. The Leader of the United Party, Sir de Villiers Graaff, was defeated in the Hottentots-Holland constituency by 898 votes.

The total number of votes polled by the two main parties was: Nationalist Party 647,468; United Party 503,635. The average total constituency vote for the Nationalist Party in the 125 seats which it contested was 5,179; and that of the United Party in the 132 seats which it contested, 3,815. In addition, United Party representatives were returned unopposed in twenty-four constituencies.

In addition to the 156 M.P.s elected at a general election, there are three representatives of the African people and four representatives of the Coloured people who are elected separately. All four representatives of the Coloured people who were returned earlier in the month had the support of the United Party.

Commenting on the electoral victory, Mr. J. G. Strijdom, the Prime Minister, said that his Party, in their new term of office, would not be unfaithful to the great trust which the electorate had placed in them. "The answer that has been given to our opponents here and to all those who libel our country beyond our borders is that the electorate of South Africa is still solidly behind the Government and our policy that no interference in our domestic affairs will be tolerated. To the United Party and other Liberals in our country, the electorate have in clear language said that a

party which contemplates integration and which contemplates putting White civilization at the mercy of a bloc of Non-Whites in the Senate can never be acceptable to them—hence the smashing defeat the United Party has suffered. As far as the future is concerned we, as a National Party Government who always have our eyes turned to a Superior Hand for guidance, will continue with our policy of serving our country and our people to the best of our ability. We are a National Party and a National Government and, for this reason, it is our accepted aim and object to serve the people as a whole and not only one or other group of the community. We shall continue to serve our country in the various spheres as we have done in the past ten years. It will also remain our task to foster the growing good relations and co-operation between the two main language groups—English and Afrikaans-speaking. As far as the colour question is concerned, we shall continue resolutely on the course we have taken, and that is to develop and maintain the traditional way of life in our country—namely *apartheid* or separation between White and Non-White. This we shall do because we are convinced that it is the only way to maintain ourselves as a White race while at the same time doing justice to the Non-Whites and avoiding racial clashes in South Africa. It is on the basis of this policy of ours that the electorate have once again returned us to power and we shall not be unfaithful in the years that lie ahead to this great faith that has been placed in us.” (*South African Office of Information, London, April 1958.*)

In the Coloured people's elections, Mr. Piet Beylerveld, the Congress candidate in the Peninsula seat, polled 813 votes. Mr. Beylerveld, who is one of the accused in the treason trial, was given special permission to address an election meeting. In the Outeniqua seat the other Congress candidate, Mr. Piet Vogel, polled only ninety-six votes, losing his deposit. It is understood that the successful United Party candidates will apply for admission to the United Party Parliamentary caucus. (*Sunday Times, April 13, 1958.*)

South Africa (April 26, 1958) wrote: “Before the four M.P.s elected by the Cape Coloured voters have had a chance to take their seats in Parliament they have been threatened by the powerful Dr. Verwoerd. Total political *apartheid* is his cry (in substitution, evidently, for the total *apartheid* of all kinds that his party contemplated in its ambitious 1948 manifesto). ‘Only White people who represent White voters should have a seat in Parliament’, he told an audience in his new Heidelberg constituency. ‘Not even to the extent to which it exists today should the Non-White people be allowed to get a grip on Parliament.’ Thus he would dismiss the only cross-benchers who remain in the House of Assembly after (the) elections. The three representatives of the Natives will hardly be surprised, since they were, after all, a major target of that same 1948 Nationalist manifesto, and the Party's mutterings against them were revived again and again during the recent election campaign. But the Minister's implied threat to the M.P.s for Peninsula, Boland, Karroo, and Outeniqua is decidedly hasty. It is not two years since the Separate Representation of Voters Act attained the Statute Book; and for five years before it did, a constitutional crisis raged which the Nationalists justified on the argument that separate Coloured representation would be such a good thing. They persisted in that view, although it was pointed out to them in the endless debates that they themselves regarded communal Native representation as a failure. It was inevitable that they would come round before long to feel the same about Coloured representation. But not everybody would have expected it quite so abruptly as Dr. Verwoerd has proclaimed.”

The Prime Minister, Mr. Strijdom, said young South Africa had realized that the Nationalist Party's policy was the only policy for the country. A large number of former United Party supporters had realized that if South Africa adopted a policy of integration it would mean the death of White South Africa. The United Party realized that the great increase in votes was due to the young men. What was it going to do when the Nationalist Party gave votes to eighteen-year-olds? The two White races in South Africa must be consolidated into a strong unit and that would not be achieved until South Africa became a republic. “We must make the English-speaking section realize that they are no longer English but South African. The way to achieve that is a republic.” (*The Times, April 18 and 19, 1958.*)

The Committee of the Federal Party (Transvaal) said that a national

convention should be called to write a new constitution for the country, with all democratic rights entrenched, and as a further safeguard, federal in form. The Committee considered that the result of the election had proved the Party's contention that democracy in South Africa could not continue under the present flexible constitution, which placed virtually unlimited power in the hands of any Government which gained a fortuitous majority and proceeded to entrench itself “in perpetuity”. (*Pretoria News, April 23, 1958.*)

The Times (May 1, 1958) reported that the Federal Party, which withdrew from the South African political scene last October to give the United Party a clear field against the Nationalists in the election, was to contest the forthcoming Provincial Council elections in Natal in an effort to create a firm stand against Nationalist domination. Major-General A. R. Selby leader of the Federal Party, said that it was only in Natal that there was “any remaining possibility of preventing a republic by political action”.

Professor Arthur Keppel-Jones, the political analyst, said that the most disturbing feature of the general election results was the illiberal trend shown by the country's White electorate. He was not surprised by the actual returns from each constituency. But he was surprised that even in seats where the Nationalists were not standing there was an even greater “illiberal” tendency than he had expected. He would have regarded the situation as much less alarming had the Nationalists won all the seats they did, but the Liberal and Labour candidates had received strong support in the constituencies in which they stood. “The White electorate is becoming increasingly ‘illiberal’. I have often argued that this is a trend which can only end in the destruction of the White régime altogether.” Professor Keppel-Jones, Professor of History at Natal University since 1954, is leaving South Africa next year to take up an appointment at Queen's University, Ontario. (*Rand Daily Mail, April 19 and 23, 1958.*)

Four United Party and four Nationalist M.P.C.s have been elected to Parliament and have resigned their seats on the Cape Provincial Council. By-elections will be necessary to fill the vacancies and because they will have to be fought on the voters rolls used for the 1954 provincial elections, Cape Coloured voters will again vote with Whites on the common roll if there are contests. (*Sunday Times, April 20, 1958.*)

Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer¹ said: “The chief factors which . . . contributed to the Nationalist victory were, firstly, the identification of their party with the special cultural aspirations and pride of the Afrikaans-speaking majority of the population and, secondly, a widespread belief that the United Party lacked the will, or the ability, or both, to maintain European supremacy in South Africa. I hardly think that the views on race relations of the great majority of those who voted Nationalist went beyond that and I very much doubt whether . . . *apartheid* means very much to the electorate. What the election did show, however, was a determination not to accept or to compromise with the claims of Black Nationalism. And this is the mood, I think, of very many more South Africans than voted Nationalist.

“ . . . Even after the large swing towards the Nationalists which has taken place, the two parties are of more or less equal size in the country, but, in spite of that, the Nationalists obtained 103 seats in Parliament as against the United Party's fifty-three. . . . The effects of this situation are . . . serious and must be faced up to. It means that . . . the United Party could not get a working majority in Parliament unless it secured over two-thirds of the votes cast. . . . That is clearly impossible, and so the Nationalists must remain in power until such time as there is a fundamental change in the whole nature of our political situation. To what extent, therefore, the political system in South Africa even in so far as it affects White South Africans can properly be described as democratic is a matter of some doubt and the present situation must surely cause concern to thinking people in all parties. . . . The present party system and attitudes, if they are taken seriously, would virtually inhibit the political evolution which is essential and inevitable in a multi-racial country faced with the problems of an industrial revolution, and therefore it seems to me that . . . the most significant developments in South African thought will be outside politics in the social, cultural and economic fields. In all these spheres of activity men from the different, apparently irreconcilable camps will be able to co-operate to build up the new South Africa.

¹DIGEST V, 4.

"... It is surprising to how small an extent the economic development of the country has been affected by political controversy. . . . There is no doubt that, materially anyhow, the Native population of the Union is better off than in any other African territory . . . (and) the Union still acts as a magnet to attract African emigrants from all over the sub-Continent. Naturally, I should not be so foolish as to suggest that, because the country is making rapid economic progress, there is no reason to worry about social and political problems. On the contrary, there is all the more reason to worry about them, but I do say that the rapidly rising national income creates conditions in which, if the necessary goodwill is there, we can tackle these problems and solve them with the minimum of pain."

Dismissing the Liberals' objective of virtual adult suffrage as "entirely unrealistic", Mr. Oppenheimer said that while neither of the two main political parties had been willing to make clear "the ultimate objectives of their Native policy in the political sphere", he believed that both were "being driven by the facts of the situation towards a consideration of measures of constitutional reform which would give weight not only to the individual as such but to the . . . interests of the various racial groups also". The solution of the racial problem was not going to depend simply on "securing agreement on what is best between the Europeans": no plan would succeed unless it were "worked out in close consultation with the responsible leaders of the Non-European peoples also". He believed that "the very scope of the Nationalist victory" would give thinking people in the Party the confidence to re-think their own policies "on broad national lines".

Congress Movement

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (I.C.F.T.U.) announced that: "A vigorous appeal to Johannes Strijdom, Premier of the Union of South Africa, for trade union freedom for African workers was cabled by J. H. Oldenbroeck, General Secretary of the I.C.F.T.U., when African workers prepared to stop work for three days in protest against racial discrimination."¹

The cable read: "Organized workers throughout the free world, united in I.C.F.T.U., appeal to your Government to allow African workers freedom to form and join trade unions of their own choosing. Present situation, including African work stoppage, outgrowth of policies pursued by Government and can be resolved only by bold reversal of such policies and recognition of full human and civil rights for all peoples and races of South Africa." (*Pretoria News*, April 15, 1958.)

The "stay-at-home" demonstration, which was to have lasted three days, met with little response. It was called off by the African National Congress, which stated: "The whole punitive machinery of the Government has been mobilized against the people and employers have resorted to economic pressure and propaganda to prevent the people from implementing their decision. As a result of these threats and various forms of pressure, which created diversion and uncertainty among the people, it appears that a large section of the people have not supported the protest in the form of a stay-at-home. Nevertheless there can be no doubt that the purpose of the protest has, in the main, been achieved."

Reports from all over the Union indicated that work was proceeding normally with a minimum of absenteeism. In Durban, only 3,000 of the city's 130,000 Non-White workers obeyed the call to strike, and at Port Elizabeth, African labour gangs at the docks were at full strength. There were several incidents in Johannesburg; hundreds of police armed with Sten-guns and rifles moved into the suburban African township of Sophiatown after two buses and a car were stoned by Africans. In Port Elizabeth a lorry was stoned, and a building in the New Brighton location, near the city, was set on fire. Fourteen African women were arrested at Pietermaritzburg for inciting their men-folk to stay at home. (*Manchester Guardian*, April 15, 1958.)

Nearly 400 African workers who went on strike at a northern Natal glassworks were arrested after being warned that the strike was illegal. In common with groups of Africans in other parts of Natal these workers had been demanding higher wages, which was one of the objects of the abortive countrywide stoppage. Under the Industrial Conciliation Act strike action is illegal for Non-Europeans. (*The Times*, April 17, 1958.)

¹DIGEST V, 4 and 5.

The Institute of Race Relations said that the failure of the election week "stay-at-home strike" did not mean that Non-Europeans acquiesced in the policy of *apartheid*: "The European people of this country delude themselves if they ignore the urgent and real causes which lay behind the decision to call the demonstration. These root causes have not been eliminated by its failure, nor by the return of the Government to power." Basic to Non-European discontent were low wages, the pass laws—particularly their extension to women—the mass of restrictions under which Non-Whites labour and the suffering caused by the Group Area Act and racial classification.¹ The Institute believes that, as long as no adequate machinery exists by which Non-Europeans can express their wishes and participate in government, they will increasingly be driven to adopt extra-parliamentary action—public demonstration, passive resistance and strikes—in an attempt to secure redress of their grievances. Armed force and constant threat cannot be used permanently to enforce an unacceptable policy. This method of government not only generates growing tension and hostility, but carries within it the danger of provoking violence. With its rich resources, its long period of inter-racial contact, the acceptance by the recognized Non-European leadership of the need for inter-racial co-operation, the Union is in a singularly favourable position to work out new patterns of racial harmony." (*Star*, April 23, 1958.)

The *Rand Daily Mail* (May 1, 1958) wrote: "The ban on meetings of more than ten Africans, imposed by the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, at the time of the "stay-at-home" campaign, is still in force. This was discovered by Mrs. V. Hashe, general secretary of the South African Clothing Workers' Union, when she applied to the Johannesburg Municipal Non-European Affairs Department for permission to hold a meeting. . . . She was told that 'in the prevailing circumstances' permission would be refused."

Dr. P. L. Tsele, a member of the African National Congress, and an executive member from 1950 to 1951, speaking on the history and present position of the A.N.C., said that when the Communist Party disbanded in South Africa in 1950, the European members joined the Congress of Democrats, and the African members joined the African National Congress, causing an immediate division in the A.N.C.'s ranks.

The members of the disbanded Communist Party "soon called the tune in the A.N.C., helped by the influence and financial means of the Congress of Democrats". Previously the Communist Party and the A.N.C. had existed side by side, co-operating where they could, but otherwise fighting each other. The Congress of Democrats now found it convenient to define any A.N.C. Member who disagreed with it as an "Africanist" and to define "Africanist" as someone who was "backward-moving and anti-White"; "Africanist" was now "a mere swear word".

He had come across Africans who appeared to be anti-White. They confused the struggle against oppression with a struggle against the Whites, because they saw a White Government as being responsible for their oppression. Dealing with the failure of the stay-at-home strike, Dr. Tsele said the plan had been launched at a time of general reaction throughout the country against the A.N.C. leadership, particularly in the Transvaal.

Yet this general desire for a new executive was not met at an A.N.C. conference held before the strike call. Delegates went home "realizing they had no control over the leadership". To call on the Africans to strike after a no-confidence motion was ridiculous, and it was "no good calling on people to strike for such a short period as three days". (*Pretoria News*, May 1, 1958.)

Treason Trial

Pretoria News (April 8, 1958) said that the treason trial would take place in Pretoria in the old Jewish Synagogue in Paul Kruger Street. The trial was expected to begin during the latter half of June. Ninety-one accused persons would appear.

New Age (March 27, 1958) wrote: "The International Labour Office in Geneva has rejected the stand of the South African Government that the arrest and trial of twenty-one trade unionists for treason 'falls outside the competence' of the I.L.O. The I.L.O. resolution, passed by its Committee on Freedom of Association, reaffirms the principle of 'a prompt and fair

¹DIGEST V, 2-5.

trial by an independent judiciary . . . and that the guarantees of due process which should attend such a trial should include safeguards against the retroactive application of any penal law".

"This follows upon some months of correspondence between the I.L.O. and the Union Government after a complaint from the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions that nine of its officials were among the twenty-one trade unionists arrested and charged in the treason trial. . . ."

University "Apartheid"¹

The Commission of Inquiry into university *apartheid* resumed its sittings in April. In her evidence on behalf of the National Council of Women, the Council's President, Dr. Thelma Gutsche, said that giving a Minister the right to establish or disestablish universities and to prescribe the functions of their councils would destroy the whole spirit of a university. If Non-Europeans were not to be entirely deprived of higher education it would be very dangerous to offer them anything but the best. To give a Minister, as the bill proposed, the power to appoint the principals of the colleges and prescribe their duties and powers, to prescribe the faculties and departments which would be established, and to refuse any student admission to any college or course would mean that the Non-Europeans would not be offered the best.

Representatives of the Education League opposed the Separate University Education Bill on similar grounds. (*Rand Daily Mail*, April 30 and May 1, 1958.)

The Students' Representative Council of the University of the Witwatersrand told the Commission that it could see no objection to the creation of universities catering more particularly for Non-Europeans, on similar lines to existing universities catering particularly for English or Afrikaans-speaking students but these universities must be "open" so that students of any race or colour could attend if they wished. Their councils and governing bodies should be constituted on the same lines as those of existing "open" universities and should have the same powers. To segregate European youth from Non-Europeans would be to do them a grave disservice.

Statistics in a Government inter-departmental report showed quite clearly that the tragically low number of Africans able to receive a university education made any suggestion for building three Bantu University Colleges ludicrous. There were only 331 students available for such "tribal universities" at present, and by 1962 the total number of African students could be only 607. The Government planned to spend just over £3 million on five Non-White universities. A study of costs at other universities showed that "some £20 million would be a more just and realistic figure".

Nothing like education of a standard equivalent to that provided by universities established by Act of Parliament would be provided at the "tribal colleges". The structure and functioning of these colleges was completely foreign and different from that of the existing South African universities. The Bill was "an attempt to impose a separate but inferior university education on the Non-White community".

Fifty Witwatersrand students protested against the Bill when they stood in silence at the City Hall and at Clarendon Circle, Johannesburg. All carried placards on which were painted anti-university *apartheid* slogans. No incidents were reported, although many passers-by abused the students. Security branch policemen took notes, and photographed the students, among whom were Europeans, Indians and Africans. (*Rand Daily Mail*, May 1, 1958.)

Representatives of the Federal Council of the South African Medical Association told the Commission that any further Non-European medical schools set up in the Union should be attached to established universities, where they could get the services of practising medical experts as part-time lecturers. It was undesirable that medical policies should be dictated by non-medical men, as would happen if lecturers became Civil Servants. It would also fetter them, as medical men, in the free expression of opinions on medical matters, such as, for example, the desirability or otherwise of certain types of inoculation.

The Non-European Medical School of the University of Natal in Durban had been established on the basis of *apartheid* and other conditions laid down by the Government. The school was a success, its academic

¹DIGEST IV, 4-6, and V, 1-5.

standard was as high as that of any other school, and there had been no trouble through political agitation "or anything of that sort" among the students and the Association would not object to the creation of similar medical schools elsewhere. It was inevitable, however, that the standard of the Durban school would drop if its teaching staff also became Civil Servants. Of the present staff of 115, ninety-two had attended a meeting to discuss the possibility and ninety-one had voted to resign if this came about.¹ The Association agreed with the ninety-one and would support them. (*Rand Daily Mail*, April 29, 1958.)

Professor J. Chris Coetzee, Rector of the University of Potchefstroom, said in his evidence that institutions completely controlled by the State could never be true universities but would become simply mouthpieces of the State and that could not be reconciled with academic independence. The existing universities were State-supported, and the State was in a position to intervene, through its representatives on their councils, if a danger to the State developed within them. But this was far from State control. Although from a Christian point of view there was no reason to create separate universities for Non-Europeans, there were sound historical, political, educational and social reasons for doing so. But the process of creating them would have to be carried out with the utmost understanding and tact if they were to succeed. Fort Hare should first be developed into a true university, instead of a college, under the wing of Rhodes University, which was near-by and had worked with Fort Hare for years. At more or less the same time, because of the isolation of Fort Hare, a college for Africans should be established and developed in the north. In Natal the Non-European Medical School and other sections should be developed further under the aegis of the University of Natal, on the present *apartheid* basis.

These Non-European colleges should be built on strong foundation so that Non-Europeans would be attracted to them and no longer wish to attend the "open" universities. They must not be glorified high schools and they must be academically independent. They must have their own councils, with at least some elected members who must not be public servants. For some time the councils would have to be racially mixed, but the Non-Europeans must have actual powers and responsibilities from the start, or as soon as possible. It would be useless to have Non-European councils which were merely advisory, as that would lead to friction and feelings of frustration and inferiority.

From the beginning there should be Non-European lecturers and professors, and appointments of this sort should be made by the councils purely on the grounds of academic qualifications, irrespective of race. These people must be the servants of the council not of the State. Since the colleges were to be established for the benefit of the Non-Europeans there could be no complaints because a European might have to work under a Non-European. People applying for posts at these colleges would know the conditions. The question of whether there was a demand for these colleges among the Non-Europeans was not important. It was the duty of the State to create the opportunity for higher education for Non-Europeans. The demand would follow. (*Rand Daily Mail*, May 3, 1958.)

Evidence similar to that of Professor Coetzee was given by Professor C. H. Rautenbach (The Rector) and Professor F. R. Tomlinson of the University of Pretoria. (*Pretoria News*, May 1, 1958.)

The Trustees for the Oxford University South African Scholarship wrote: "About eighteen months ago when the South African Government proposed a policy of *apartheid* in the universities the Oxford undergraduates formed a group (J.A.C.A.R.I., or Joint Action Committee Against Racial Intolerance) to collect money for a scholarship. This scholarship was to enable a Non-White South African to get further education at Oxford, and it was to be a symbol of their solidarity with, and concern for, all students who suffer as a result of racial discrimination.

"Acting as trustees we have just appointed Mr. Jeppe Mei of Fort Hare to this J.A.C.A.R.I. scholarship. Provided that all necessary passport facilities are available Mr. Mei will come to Wadham in October to read for a degree in history.

"As trustees for this scholarship we should like to put on record that the gathering of almost all the money necessary for the fund has been

¹DIGEST V, 5.

organized by the students themselves. Your readers may be interested to know that this term nearly 2,000 students in Oxford have joined the J.A.C.A.R.I. group, in order to express their conviction that a policy of *apartheid* and racial intolerance is an affront against that free spirit of learning for which a university stands. It seems to us to be of the greatest significance that the J.A.C.A.R.I. membership cuts right across conventional student divisions; all the religious societies, together with the major political and many of the athletic societies, are represented. It may be added that Oxford is not the only university sponsoring a scheme of this kind." (*The Times*, April 10, 1958.)

Other Forms of "Apartheid"

Professional

All police leave in the Johannesburg area was cancelled in case of trouble arising from demonstrations against the issue of reference books to African nurses¹ at Baragwanath Hospital. Townships and locations were cordoned off and road blocks were established by uniformed police and provincial traffic inspectors; later the road blocks were lifted. Outside the hospital, a force of more than 200 European and Non-European police was mobilized and standing by. Some of the Non-European police were armed and there were a number of Special Branch officers on duty.

Mrs. M. Goldberg, Vice-President of the Transvaal Federation of South African Women, said the meeting and deputation were planned in an orderly fashion. "There has never been any suggestion of force or streaming into the hospital. This enormous force of police is completely uncalled for. It is extremely provoking and we want to voice the strongest possible protest against this police barrage."

A deputation of nine women, led by Mrs. Ruth Matseoane, of the provincial executive of the A.N.C. Women's League, handed in a statement which said the woman had come to protest against the requirement for nurses to be provided with identity numbers for training and registration. They said this was dangerous because homes would be broken up when women were arrested under the pass laws; it meant that children would be left uncared for and helpless and that mothers would be taken from their babies for failing to produce their passes. It would mean that women and young girls would be exposed to "humiliation and degradation" at the hands of pass-searching police and would lose the right to move freely from one place to another. If nurses carried passes they, too, would be exposed to these things, but knowing this the South African Nursing Council sought to compel African nurses to take out reference books, which were necessary to produce identity numbers for registration. The deputation asked that the protest should be forwarded to the Nursing Council and the Minister of Health.

Miss A. Simpson, matron-in-chief at the hospital, said the training of Non-European student nurses would not be inferior in any way to that of the Europeans and that syllabuses, examinations and certificates would be the same. At Baragwanath she was striving for a higher standard of training for her students. Every year it was becoming higher. The Council had informed her that identity numbers were no longer necessary. The regulations had been withdrawn and no nurse at Baragwanath would be asked for an identification number. (*Pretoria News*, March 22, 1958.)

An African nursing sister, Rita Shezi, has been appointed matron of the West Springs Non-European Provincial Hospital. This is the first time such an appointment has been made. The West Springs Hospital, which was formerly a mine hospital, trains African midwives. (*Star*, April 24, 1958.)

An Indian doctor who since 1954 has been refused permission to visit his patients in a Non-European ward at the Pretoria Hospital (on the grounds that he might have to give orders to a European sister)² will be "allowed to see his patients for a probationary period of six months". He will not, however, have the use of the operating theatre "at present". (*Pretoria News*, April 30, 1958.)

A Boksburg magistrates' court ordered a Non-European solicitor, Mr. G. Pitji, to pay a £5 fine or go to prison for five days for refusing to sit in that section of the court reserved for Non-White counsel.³ Mr. Pitji, who was defending a Coloured client, declined to pay and was taken

to the cells. Later he paid the fine and was released. (*The Times*, March 21, 1958.)

The *Sunday Times* (April 27, 1958) wrote: "Because of 'excellent results' of an experiment in appointing Native booking clerks on some stations, the South African Railways Administration has decided to expand the number. A new Non-European training school with a Native instructor will be opened in the compound at Kazerne, Johannesburg."

Social and Cultural

The appeal of Gideon Andrew Keyser, formerly private secretary to Mr. Strijdom, the Prime Minister, against conviction and sentence for contravening the Immorality Act was dismissed in the Supreme Court.¹ The judges considered, however, that there was no justification for corporal punishment and they deleted that part of the sentence. The sentence of four months' imprisonment was confirmed. The judges said that the magistrate had regarded Keyser's high office as an aggravating factor, whereas the fact that he would be precluded from the Civil Service in the future should have been taken into account. The woman concerned had not come to any physical harm and no immoral act had taken place, "but we cannot act in accordance with the Act if we impose a suspended sentence." (*The Times*, March 26, 1958.)

The *Rand Daily Mail* (April 8, 1958) wrote: "The Secretary of Native Affairs has issued a directive stating that African servants travelling with their European employers must be accommodated in municipal hostels or locations, according to *Hotelier*, the official journal of the Federated Hotelkeepers' Association."

A draft ordinance empowering the Administrator of the Transvaal to direct local authorities to reserve separate amenities for the different races in their areas, was published in the *Provincial Gazette* and will be discussed during the coming Provincial Council session. The draft is similar to legislation passed in the Cape Province and extends the permissive operation of legislation passed by Parliament in 1953. It lays down that the Administrator can direct local authorities to reserve or set apart public premises or any counter, bench, seat or amenity for the exclusive use of persons belonging to a particular race or class. Similarly he can direct the setting apart or reservation of a portion of a street, road, or premises as a stand or stopping place for the exclusive use of public vehicles used to convey persons of a particular race or class. If the local authority fails to carry out directions to the Administrator's satisfaction, he can direct that the work be done and alterations performed by the province or contractors at the cost of the local authority. Any person "who handicaps people employed on that type of work or who swears at them" can be sentenced to a fine of £50 or three months' imprisonment, or both. The same applies to people entering the premises or stopping vehicles at places other than those designated to them. (*Pretoria News*, April 24, 1958.)

South Africa (May 3, 1958) wrote: "Funeral *apartheid*² has been short-lived. . . . The undertakers had hardly set about their sombre political rite when a Port Elizabeth magistrate suddenly discovered that taxi *apartheid*—which the transportation boards had demanded quite some time ago—was *ultra vires* the local municipal regulations and therefore inapplicable. This went, too, for most of the other Cape municipalities, which had laid down in the old days that taxis should accept anybody who required to ride in them. And if taxi-drivers could no longer be prosecuted for mixing the pigmentation of their fares, then neither could the funeral directors, whose cars are technically classified as private-hire vehicles."

Sport

The *Sunday Times* (April 13, 1958) wrote: "When South Africa's White v. Non-White dispute is considered by the Federation of International Football Associations (F.I.F.A.) at Stockholm in June³ the world's ruling body will be told that the section of Non-Europeans—the Soccer Federation of Southern Africa—seeking control of soccer in the Union, has ulterior motives; it is attempting to get the Europeans to defy the country's laws; it is not interested in trying to solve soccer differences. (The dispute is over the South African membership of F.I.F.A. Only one Association

¹DIGEST IV, 5 and 6; V, 3-5. ²DIGEST V, 4. ³DIGEST V, 3-5.

¹DIGEST V, 5. ²DIGEST V, 5. ³DIGEST V, 3.

from each country can be members of the World body. This control is at present vested in the Football Association of Southern Africa. The Non-Whites seek to get the S.A.F.A. expelled on the grounds of a colour bar.) . . .

"The S.A.F.A. has done everything within its power and within the common laws and established customs of the country to meet the World Association's request for harmony between White and Non-White in soccer, (it) even changed its constitution to provide for the affiliation of Non-European soccer associations and individuals. An official said: 'If the Non-Europeans had accepted this, there would have been no further and unnecessary troubles. In fact, South Africa might possibly have been represented overseas by mixed teams. . . . The S.A. Federation refused this offer of affiliation on reasonable terms. They demanded a fusion with a joint committee based on the number of clubs. Here is another dispute. The Non-Europeans claim that each team is a club. It is well known that European clubs run several teams. There is a big difference. The S.A.F.A. delegation at Stockholm will also be able to prove that offers of assistance to Non-Europeans, as requested at a previous meeting, have been refused. . . . The Soccer Federation also claims that it has more registered players than the S.A.F.A. This will be denied at Stockholm and there will be facts to prove it. As the established body controlling soccer in South Africa for over half a century, there can be no question of any fusion. The Non-Europeans can have affiliation with the S.A.F.A. or nothing.

"One thing is certain. If the unexpected happens and F.I.F.A. condones the action of a bunch of officials who seek to disrupt South Africa's established customs, the Non-Europeans, too, will find difficulties. They can become affiliated to the European organization; the Whites cannot, because of the modern trend in legislation to *apartheid*, become affiliated to the Soccer Federation of Southern Africa. Therefore, the Soccer Federation will be unable to control soccer in the Union as required by F.I.F.A. rules. Indeed, there will be evidence before F.I.F.A. to show that there is even more *apartheid* between the Non-European races than between White and Non-White."

Bantu Education¹

The *Sunday Express* (April 27, 1958) wrote: "With a stroke of his pen the Minister of the Interior, Dr. T. E. Dönges, has condemned to death one of the most successful private boarding schools in South Africa. It is the Notre Dame Convent for African Girls at Venterspost West—a model high school that last year produced a 100 per cent record of Junior Certificate passes. Seven years ago the Notre Dame sisters built the convent at a cost of more than £30,000. It stands on seventy-five acres of land, two miles from the nearest White dwellings. The pupils are daughters of some of the best Native families and they are under strict supervision. . . . Last year there were about 200 boarders; but after the notice to quit was served last Christmas the number was reduced to 108."

Labour and Industry

In a reserved judgment given in the Supreme Court, Mr. Justice Rosenow set aside the work reservation recommendation made by the Industrial Tribunal for the clothing industry in South Africa, and the resulting determination of the Minister of Labour.² He directed the Tribunal to reconsider, in the light of the judgement, the question of the proper determination to be made. Mr. Justice Watermayer concurred in the judgement, which was on applications by the Garment Workers' Union of the Cape Peninsula and Rudolph Baillie, who is not a member of the Union, for the determination to be set aside. Costs were awarded against the Minister and the members of the Tribunal. (*Pretoria News*, March 22, 1958.)

The *Sunday Express* (May 4, 1958) wrote: "Round two has started in the big fight between Senator De Klerk, Minister of Labour, on the one hand, and the South African clothing industry—workers and employers—on the other. The referee for this round is the Wages Board, which has opened an inquiry into the industry's wages and working conditions in all . . . 'uncontrolled areas', that is, in areas where wages are not controlled by industrial agreement. Although the verbal battle, in the form of

public sessions, will not begin for about two months, the . . . Union and the Transvaal Clothing Manufacturers' Association have already weighed in with memoranda strongly opposing Senator De Klerk's racial industrial policy.

"They are resisting his attempt to force the industry to move from urban areas, like the Witwatersrand, to the borders of the Native Reserves. This policy, they say . . . is threatening the jobs of most of the industry's 47,000 skilled and highly-paid workers, European, Coloured and Native. It is also threatening the prosperous urban industry with serious financial loss, and even ruin.

"The Garment Workers' Union in its memorandum . . . is demanding a uniform wage scale for all skilled workers in the industry throughout South Africa, irrespective of race. This scale, it says, should be based on the average wage in the controlled areas, including the Transvaal. In this way unfair competition would be eliminated. . . . The employers are taking a similar line. On the outcome of the fight will depend the welfare of workers and employers in many other industries."

Mr. W. Blake, general secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers, said that the Minister of Labour was granting "all manner of exemptions" to African building contractors and to White firms which wanted to employ cheap African builders and painters, and this "while there (were) European painters out of work and drawing unemployment pay". It was ironical that "cut-rate African builders were putting up some of the factories which would house the cut-rate African garment workers who were threatening jobs of White workers on the Rand." (*Rand Daily Mail*, April 11, 1958.)

The Under-Secretary for Native Affairs (Native Areas) said that it was the intention of the Government to introduce legislation during the forthcoming parliamentary session for the establishment of a Native finance and investment corporation which would encourage the setting up of "Native undertakings"—commercial, industrial, mining, financial and service projects. Technical assistance and specialized advice would all be available. The corporation would ensure that loans were used to the best advantage, and would promote thrift and the collection of African capital with a view to establishing self aid. The profits accruing to the corporation would be applied solely in the economic interests of the African people in their own areas. The intention was to encourage many small industries which could be run by the Africans themselves, and not large undertakings which would need the supervision of Europeans at the beginning. If more industries were established in the cities, the drift of Africans to those areas would be intensified to the detriment of the development of the "Native areas", which should be the home not only of African farmers but also of African factory workers. The corporation would have to overcome many obstacles, but they need not be insuperable if there were co-operation and mutual consultation. (*Star*, April 23, 1958.)

Coloured Affairs

The Division of Coloured Affairs, which was controlled by the Department of the Interior, has become an independent Department of State.¹

The new department has taken over a number of State institutions for the care, training, and rehabilitation of Coloured children, in terms of legislation such as the 1937 Children's Act. The new status and duties of the department have meant an increase in personnel from 170 to 467 posts, of which 205 will be filled by Coloured staff. Many of them will be employed in professional and clerical posts, according to Dr. I. D. du Plessis, the Commissioner for Coloured Affairs. Funds voted for the department by Parliament will also be increased considerably. (*Rand Daily Mail*, May 1, 1958.)

Bishop Reeves at Zeerust²

The *Rand Daily Mail* (April 24, 1958) wrote: "Several thousand Bafurutsé tribesmen have fled from their homes in the reserves of the Zeerust area and have taken refuge in Bechuanaland, according to an estimate by the Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves. The Bishop, who investigated the position in the reserves personally

¹DIGEST IV, 6, and V, 3-5. ²DIGEST V, 3-5.

during a recent visit there, has submitted a memorandum to the World Council of Churches in Switzerland, and has asked the council to give special attention to the conditions both in the reserves and among African refugees in the Protectorate. . . .

"As a result of the visit, as well as the close contact he had maintained with the situation last year, he had come to the conclusion that the happenings in the area called for a judicial inquiry. 'There are widespread allegations that some of the police drafted into this area, as well as some of the leading supporters of those chiefs who have sided with the authorities in their attempt to compel women in the area to accept reference books, have acted with great harshness towards the people, and in some cases with brutality,' he said. 'There is much evidence that some chiefs and their retainers have been guilty of levying exorbitant fines and of enriching themselves at the expense of their people. In general, they are exploiting the situation for their own benefit.'

"The paradoxical result of events had been that the authorities, who claimed that the one aim of their policy was to rehabilitate tribalism among the Africans, had succeeded in disrupting tribal life in a most alarming fashion: 'In the villages in which the chiefs have sided with the authorities, deliberate attempts are being made by the tribal leaders to disrupt the work of the Anglican Church, and they are persecuting some of their people simply because they are members of the Church. In spite of this, for the most part our people remain firm in their allegiance to the Church.'

"Those chiefs who had stood by their people in their refusal to accept passes for women were now in a precarious position . . . either they had to support the authorities and lose the respect of their people, or they had to stand by their people and probably be deposed.'

"The Bishop prefaced his memorandum by saying that he appreciated that the authorities would blame the unrest on the African National Congress and agitators from Johannesburg. He had found no evidence of the African National Congress being implicated, and the alleged 'agitators' were largely menfolk of the Bafurutshe tribe working in Johannesburg who resented very strongly the treatment given to their wives and children who lived in the reserves."

Bantu Authorities¹

Contact (April 5, 1958) wrote: "The deportation to the Transkei of the Regent of Sekhukhuniland has brought to a head the struggle of his tribe against Bantu authorities. In addition to Moromochi Sekhukhuni, the Regent, four leading tribesmen have been banished and a pro-Government minor chief, reported to have no support amongst the tribe, has been foisted as Regent on them by the Native Affairs Department. . . . In order to facilitate the setting up of Bantu authorities the Government is separating the Bapendi and Bakone people, who have hitherto lived in the same areas of what is roughly known as Sekhukhuniland.

"The Bapendi are being left in Schoonoord, the north-eastern area, while communities of Bakone people are being moved to the south-western Nebo area under a different Native Commissioner. People moved to distant parts of Nebo are trickling back to the Jane Furse Hospital, which stands just inside the area's borders and which is the only source of employment in the area for builders, carpenters, orderlies, etc. These measures seem, however, to have met with little success and during last November the Bapendi Tribal Authority, which had been officially set up last February, was disestablished for lack of support.

"When Chief Moromochi's suspension was due to expire at the end of last year it was extended for a further three months. Moromochi, who acts for the thirteen-year-old Chief Rian, who is still at a Roman Catholic School, won an appeal against his continued suspension on a legal technicality—the Government had acted by proclamation under a law which required that he be given a chance to defend himself against charges—on March 11. On the very next day he was deprived of his powers of judging cases and two days after this he was deposed as acting chief—under a different law—and banished to Cala in the Transkei.

"Dr. Verwoerd thought it necessary to seal off Schoonoord district by proclamation on March 7—instead of accepting the objections of the whole Bapendi tribe to his pet scheme of Bantu Authorities. The only result so far of the banning has been the imposition, on March 27, of a

£50 fine on a tribesman trying to return from Schoonoord to Sekhukhuni and future effects are likely to be merely the multiplication of such cases of 'illegal entry'. . . .

"It is becoming clear that whenever Dr. Verwoerd rings down his iron curtain around a Native reserve it is a sure sign that his policies have stirred up so much resentment and resistance there that an explosion is either near or has already occurred. Zeerust was proof of this rule, and those facts and reports which *Contact* has managed to obtain despite the Native Affairs Department blackout show that Sekhukhuniland is about to follow the Zeerust pattern."

The Under-Secretary for Native Affairs (Native Areas), Mr. Bruce Young, spoke to councillors of the Transkeian Territorial Authority about the appointment of chiefs' representatives in urban areas and the direct contact possible between these representatives and the Minister for Native Affairs and senior officials of his department.¹ He said some chiefs had made such arrangements and he hoped other chiefs would do so. Certain people with personal interest tended to cloud the issues or to misinterpret or misrepresent views or directly oppose measures intended for the benefit of the Bantu or in the national interest. There were also so-called "experts on Bantu opinion" who professed to express the views of the Bantu. "It stands to reason that there can hardly be a better means of contact with the Government in so far as Bantu affairs in the Transkeian Territories is concerned than representative spokesmen of the territorial authority, because it is so constituted that it is representative of the chiefs and leaders," he said. (*Pretoria News*, April 24, 1958.)

SABRA Congress

Mr. J. D. du P. Basson, Nationalist Party Member of Parliament for Namib, told the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs Congress: "No racial policy can succeed in the long run in a country like South Africa unless it is made acceptable also to the Non-Whites. At present, very few of them agree that we have good intentions towards them and I fear that their refusal must, to a large extent, be attributed to the White politician."

In spite of the great revolution that race relations had undergone in the outside world, the political terminology in South Africa still carried the stamp of aggression and the sound of half a century ago. From White political platforms one still heard without interruption about a White man's country, White "baasskap" and European supremacy. It was of primary importance to the politician to concentrate on the use of a sensible and unequivocal terminology. There was a direct contradiction between the terms "baasskap" and "apartheid". The former had as its aim horizontal separation and the latter vertical separation. The importance of terminology should not be underestimated by the politician. A nation which cried "baasskap" created resistance everywhere, but a nation which pleaded "self-preservation" had reason to expect sympathy. There was, of course, no hope of convincing the Non-Whites of the good intentions of the Whites if the politician did not show genuine goodwill and greater consideration when discussing racial matters. This was especially true of the politicians in Parliament: one of the most unfortunate phenomena in politics was the way in which the Opposition always accused the Government of the day of being "kafferboeties". It was to be regretted that those in opposition made propaganda attacks on the Government whenever something beneficial or necessary was done for the Non-Whites in respect of education, housing, pensions and so on. The politician who begrudged a fellow man these things on account of his colour ceased to serve the best interests of the Whites, and his country, and even of his party. The politician must try to see *apartheid* in the right light. Every *apartheid* step for which he pleaded he must test with the question: "Is it necessary for our continued existence or will it only be a demonstration which will irritate, and which will create aversion to the White rulers?"

Professor C. F. Gunter, of the University of Stellenbosch, said it should be the determined aim of every European teacher to cultivate the right attitude among children towards the race problems of the country. The task of every teacher should not be the indoctrination or propagation of a single viewpoint. Teachers should try to remove the main prejudices and misunderstandings which a large section of the European population still

¹DIGEST V, 2-4.

¹DIGEST V, 4.

suffered from. This included the traditional colour prejudice: associating the darkness of colour with an uncivilized being and a White skin with civilization; and the belief that a white skin was necessarily superior. The idea that *apartheid* meant the removal of contact between White and Non-White, as if the latter were untouchables, also hampered a solution to the race problem, as did the idea that the Whites, for their own gain and comfort, could continue to use the labour of the Non-Whites, but continue in their refusal to grant them greater political and economic rights. Professor Gunter said there was a choice of only two racial policies (traditional *apartheid*, or separate development), which must eventually lead to complete territorial separation between White and Black, or integration of Non-Whites with more political rights for them. Nobody could be blamed, therefore, if he recoiled from a policy of integration. (*Pretoria News*, May 1, 1958.)

Commenting on Mr. Basson's speech, the Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev. Joost de Blank, said that it showed that those who had had the courage at other times to suggest that "*baasskap*" was not acceptable, either as a phrase or as a definition of an existing state of policy, had not been "barking up the wrong tree". It was a mystery why a furore should have been caused by his remarks in the February issue of *Good Hope*, the official journal of the diocese of Cape Town, when *apartheid* itself was not attacked, but the acceptance of *baasskap*.¹ "Exactly the same remarks have now been made by Mr. Basson, and *baasskap* has been accused. After I had made my original statement, Professor N. J. J. Olivier issued a statement on behalf of Sabra that what I had said had done irreparable harm to the cause of race relations. I challenged Professor Olivier to substantiate the Sabra statement and to come to Windermere with me. He did neither. Now I find someone who speaks in very much the same terms as I did apparently accepted by Professor Olivier and his remarks generally applauded. My main point, however, is not to open old wounds or to bear resentment against those who deliberately misread my statement and used it as political cannon fodder, but to express gratitude that there is evidence of a new approach to the problem of living in a multi-racial society. I hope it will lead to all races living together in mutual respect and goodwill." It was important that many thinking Afrikaners were not convinced that the Nationalist Party's policy had the firm support, backing and approval of the best of the Afrikaner people.

The Congress passed a resolution instructing Sabra's executive to organize a conference with the Non-White leaders in South Africa later this year. The Congress ended with calls for: a new approach to racial problems in South Africa; a purposeful speed-up in the application of the *apartheid* policy; and "missionary work" to convince White and Non-White in South Africa and the outside world of the sincerity of the Afrikaner. Summing up the trend of the conference, Professor N. J. Olivier, the vice-chairman, said: "We do not have unlimited time. Those who think we can wait fifty or a hundred years for a solution are living in a dream world. When politicians say we have a hundred years to find the answer it fills me with the utmost frustration that sincere people can continue to believe this. I wonder if we have even one generation in which to find the solution. . . ."

"We know that the politician has a difficult task. We have often been told that the Government can go no faster than the people of the country will allow it to go. Sabra is aware of restrictions of this sort which are imposed on a government. But it cannot, and must not, be allowed to remain at this." Tasks had emerged which Sabra would have to accomplish "within the next five years". (*Rand Daily Mail*, May 3, 1958.)

Centlivres Commission²

Ethnic grouping was given as one of the immediate causes of the riots in Johannesburg's south-western Native townships during the weekend September 14 and 15 in the report of the Commission of Inquiry appointed by the Johannesburg City Council. The Commission said that its criticism of ethnic grouping applied only to Johannesburg, where, because of the enormous size and diversity of the African population, the City Council faced unique problems.

The Commission found that the root cause of the condition of unrest in the riot area was the prevailing spirit of lawlessness due to socio-

economic conditions affecting the young. These conditions were the inadequate earnings of the fathers of families, insufficient schooling facilities, inadequate recreational facilities, the breakdown of parental authority, inadequate facilities for vocational training, and migratory labour.

Other causes were insufficiency of police protection, unwillingness of residents in the townships to help the police by giving information directed towards the arrests of wrongdoers, and a feeling which existed among Africans that contraventions of many laws especially applying to them were not morally wrong. There was considerable evidence that as a whole the residents were unwilling to help the police. This was mainly because of fear of reprisals, there being no guarantee of police protection of informants. "A contributory cause is a definite attitude of hostility towards the South African Police. This attitude is of long standing, but there is reason for the belief that it has been exacerbated recently. This may be due to the fact that there is an increasing number of educated Natives who resent ill-treatment by the police more than the primitive Native did, coupled with the fact that, according to evidence laid before us, some of the police seem to regard the educated Natives as a fit subject for ill-treatment and insult. We welcome the attempt that is being made by the authorities to prevent causes of friction between Natives and themselves and especially the South African Police."

On the question of police control the report said: "There is abundant evidence that, whatever the reason, the police force available has been unable to cope with the gangs that infest the townships. More than one witness said that the police spent disproportionate time and energy on liquor raids and pass inspections, and devoted insufficient energy to preventing and detecting more serious crimes, but as the Commission has not been given an opportunity of receiving evidence from the police authorities, it is unable to express an opinion on whether or not this contention is justified. It is, however, clear on the evidence that lawlessness is rampant in the areas, and that the activities of the police are insufficient to suppress it."

Discussing alleged ill-treatment of Africans by police, the Commissioners said: "We have very little doubt that it is the younger and less experienced policemen who are mainly responsible for the harsh and inconsiderate treatment which forms the subject of complaint, and it seems probable that the offenders in this respect form a minority of the members of the force. Unfortunately the conduct of the few has reflected upon the force as a whole, and has helped to build up the feeling of antagonism which undoubtedly exists today."

The Commission recommended revival of the Youth Board, insistence on humane treatment of alleged offenders among Africans, better police protection, higher wages for Africans, better schooling, recreation and vocational training facilities, improvement of the means of putting young Africans into employment, reconsideration of the policy of ethnic grouping, discouragement of migratory labour, and granting of further powers to Native advisory boards. "Most of these remedial measures are essentially of a national character and fall within the purview of the Central Government. For it is an accepted principle in South Africa that the Central Government should bear the cost of maintaining law and order—a principle which is enshrined in legislation relating to the police, which provides for a national police force and not for local police forces." (*Pretoria News*, April 10, 1958.)

The *Star* (April 10, 1958) reported that the Commission "expressed surprise at the negative attitude adopted by the Minister of Justice, Mr. Swart, towards the Johannesburg City Council's request for an inquiry". Recalling that neither the Government nor the police nor the Native Affairs Department "were willing to co-operate in any manner with the City Council in its endeavour to arrive at the causes of the trouble", the report had said: "One would have thought that, if those authorities considered that they were wholly blameless in respect of the riots, they would have welcomed the opportunity of placing relevant evidence before the Commission. It is the considered opinion of this Commission that it was the moral duty of the authorities, who are, after all, the servants of the public, to have placed before the Commission all the evidence at their disposal, whether such evidence was favourable or unfavourable." The Commission's task in arriving at the truth had obviously been hampered by the Government's attitude. Two alternative explanations were that

¹DIGEST V, 5. ²DIGEST V, 3 and 4.

the Government had not sufficient confidence in the personnel of the Commission to rely upon a proper investigation and unbiased report ("We are naturally at a disadvantage in discussing this question"), or that, having refused to appoint a judicial commission, the Government felt it would "lose face" if it did not dissociate itself entirely from the proceedings. "There may be a third alternative—that the Government departments concerned, and more especially the Native Affairs Department, might have felt that they would not emerge unscathed from an interrogation in regard to their part in the proceedings in relation to the townships that culminated in the riots."

Some Recent Judgements

In the final stage in the *habeas corpus* action concerning Nelson Langa, Mr. Justice Williamson awarded costs against Mr. Max Hirschowitz of Scheepers Street, Bethal, and the Native Commissioner, Johannesburg.¹ The matter first came before the Supreme Court on August 1, when Nelson's brother—Innocent Langa—sought an order for the production in court of his brother. Nelson had been arrested for not carrying a pass and sent to work on a farm. After being produced in court Nelson was released from his farm contract.

Mr. Justice Williamson, discussing the scale on which costs should be awarded, said: "I do not propose to mulct the respondents for what seems to have been the irregular and careless, if not dishonest, act on the part of a minor official. I am satisfied that some official must have known that he (Nelson Langa) was employed by the municipality. What satisfied me was the production, at a very late stage, of a card filled in by an interpreter-clerk. This clerk made an affidavit indicating that Nelson never said that he was employed. I cannot accept that in the light of the information filled in, for Nelson's address is given as 'Municipal Compound, Springfield', and under the heading 'former work' appears the phrase 'municipal labourer' . . ."

"In the absence of any argument to the contrary, the two respondents were associated in the wrongful removal of Nelson to the farm and are jointly and severally liable to pay the costs incurred by the petitioner." (*Star*, March 18, 1958.)

Willem Abram de Klerk (23), of Potgietersrus, who was sentenced to two years' imprisonment and four strokes, has had his sentence reduced in the Appeal Court to one year's compulsory labour, suspended for three years, and four strokes.

The court was told that De Klerk and a friend named Bronkhorst, seeing a Native on the road, jumped out of their car and chased him. The Native ran into the veldt and De Klerk fetched a 2.2 rifle from the car and shot at him, the bullet going so near the Native that he heard the whistle of it. De Klerk and his companion then shot two donkeys and a goat belonging to Africans.

Later on De Klerk and Bronkhorst assaulted an African cyclist, hitting him in the stomach and then kicking him several times. The African managed to mount his bicycle and as he was riding away De Klerk fired at him, the bullet going through his cap.

On the two charges of assaulting the Africans, with intent to murder them, the Potgietersrus Circuit Court found on the evidence that De Klerk shot in the direction of the Natives with intent to frighten them and without any intent to wound. He was accordingly found guilty of common assault. The Appeal Court accepted the evidence that De Klerk had fired to frighten the Natives, and added that "although the behaviour of the appellant was reprehensible, it was not as serious as the trial court considered it to be".

Gideon Andreas Erasmus Jacobs, overseer at the farm Spaarwater, in the Nigel district, was sentenced by Mr. Justice Hill in the Supreme Court, Springs, to four years' compulsory labour after he had been found guilty on a charge of culpable homicide. Jacobs was originally charged with the murder of Jan Skosana, a herd boy, employed on the farm. Evidence was given that Skosana had neglected his duties and that on July 21 last year cattle had strayed from Spaarwater to a neighbouring farm which was under quarantine for foot-and-mouth disease. Jacobs had

beaten and kicked Skosana and a few hours later he died. The Crown accepted a plea of guilty to culpable homicide. Mr. T. H. van Reenen (for Jacobs) said that it was not necessary to impose a sentence of imprisonment and that sentences other than imprisonment had been imposed for similar offences. Mr. Justice Hill replied: "Is it not time that a stop was put to this sort of thing? One reads of it continually. The papers are full of it. It would appear that this type of assault on Native labourers is very prevalent, particularly here on the highveld."

In his summing up Mr. Justice Hill said that he was aware that Jacobs had every reason to be angry. The assault on Skosana, however, had been very severe. In addition to this, when Jacobs had assaulted Skosana to a point where the man was in a condition where he could not rise, he told an ambulance man who came to the farm that no one on the farm had been badly hurt: he was so without feeling that he sent the ambulance driver away. Skosana had been taken with Jacobs on a van after the assault and it was possible that Jacobs had intended using him as a sort of exhibit, to show the stock inspectors just how he treated a servant who neglected his duty.

Leave to appeal was refused, but bail of £200 was granted pending an application to the Appellate Division. (*Pretoria News*, March 29, 1958.)

Gert Botha Erasmus (25), a constable of the South African Police, was found guilty on four counts of common assault in that he assaulted three Native prisoners, Paul Nhlapo, Johannes Mtembu (twice), and Petrus Motaung on July 20 at Welkom. He was found not guilty of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

Mr. Justice Potgieter said he regarded the four offences as serious, since Erasmus was a policeman in charge of prisoners. In a multi-racial country such as South Africa one had to use restraint in the handling of Non-Europeans. He would regard the four offences as one. He fined Erasmus £200 (or two years' compulsory labour) of which £100 (or one year) was suspended. A suspended sentence for a previous offence of £10 (or ten days) was enforced. (*Pretoria News*, April 2, 1958.)

Rehabilitating the Police

The Commissioner of Police, General C. I. Rademeyer, said that the South African Police had been carrying out an experiment for the past three years of rehabilitating convicted members by continuing their employment as policemen or re-employing them after a lengthy period. Careful records were being kept of policemen with previous convictions and he would be able to state the success of the experiment after five years. Personally he thought it a great success. Only about 5 per cent of the policemen given a chance to rehabilitate themselves had again "landed in trouble".

Under the General Law Amendment Act of 1952 a conviction of a juvenile could not disqualify him from being employed by the State or bar him from further service. If the conviction was not of a serious nature, the policeman was given a chance to rehabilitate himself. Usually he was transferred to another place. The nature of the conviction, the circumstances and the man's character were taken into consideration: "After all I cannot be relentless in my attitude towards a juvenile. I like to regard him as a son and give him another chance. They are all entrusted to my care. . . ."

After conviction, a special inquiry was held by police headquarters and if circumstances warranted it, the policeman's employment was continued. Experience showed that the work of these men was, on the whole, good. Policemen who resigned as a result of a conviction were treated in the same manner. It was the practice to re-employ them after a substantial period provided they supplied proof of their rehabilitation. "We are not supermen, but ordinary people and should be regarded as such. We do not have an unlimited supply of recruits and we cannot pick and choose, but we do not employ every applicant." (*Pretoria News*, April 3, 1958.)

Diepkloof to Close

The *Star* (March 26, 1958) wrote: "Diepkloof Reformatory, the Union's only 'prison without bars' for Native juvenile delinquents, has a doomed, depressed air these days. At the end of the year, the 900 boys who learn the three Rs and a trade there—and who get week-end leave when

¹DIGEST V, 2.

they qualify—will leave the jurisdiction of the Minister of Education, Mr. Serfontein, and be transferred to the Minister of Native Affairs. He proposes to scatter them up and down the country in Youth Labour Camps, where the accent will be on labour rather than learning. . . .

"All the boys—they are between 10 and 20 on admission and spend five years 'inside' and under supervision—go to school. Those with some learning are taught a trade. After eight months in the dormitory they are allowed out to roam the farm on Sundays. From there they graduate to the hostels, where life is entirely free. Then once in five weeks they get a 'week-end pass' to visit their families. . . . Every boy leaving Diepkloof is assured of a job. . . . When they leave the reformatory (they) go to the placement hostels in Orlando and Jabavu for a time. From there they travel to work but have to live in the hostels. They help pay for their keep, buy their own clothes—and the rest of their pay is put into the Post Office Savings Bank. . . . But soon Diepkloof will be gone. The land is to be taken over by the City Council for housing." (The present principal, Mr. W. J. Keiser, has been transferred to a technical high school in the Cape. An earlier principal of the Reformatory was Mr. Alan Paton.

African Bishop

An editorial signed by the chief editor of the Swedish Lutheran Church weekly magazine *Our Church*, Pastor Ingemar Strom, said that the election of a new Bishop of the Swedish Zulu Church of South Africa in May would assume historical importance. "For the first time in the history of the Church the intention is to elect a Negro as its head." The new Bishop will succeed the late Swedish Bishop Erik Sundgren. (*Rand Daily Mail*, March 26, 1958.)

Wages and Incomes

The *Manchester Guardian* (April 18, 1958) wrote: "Some indication of the prosperity of the White population in the Union of South Africa is given in the recent investigation of the South African Bureau of Census and Statistics into incomes in the ten principal urban areas of the Union. This showed the average yearly income of a White family to be £1,385 a year, or about £115 10s. a month. The survey covered married people only and account was taken of income from all sources earned by all members of the family. The analysis showed that £1,077 came from salary, £99 from the working wife and £209 from other sources.

"Families in South Africa whose heads work on their own account showed considerably higher incomes, with an average of £2,361. In the professional salaried classes the technical workers and managerial staffs showed the highest average at £1,886. Families headed by clerical workers, salesmen, and shop assistants showed an average of £1,284, manual workers' families £1,083 and transport services £1,001. The survey shows that the wife in each family is a significant contributor to earnings, although the part she plays varies from group to group. Among pensioners 7 per cent of wives receive an income from work, but this rises among the active salaried and wage-earning groups as a whole to 29.8 per cent."

Higher wages for unskilled Non-Europeans and more contact between employers and their workers were urged by the President of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, Mr. D. G. Corbett. "It is poor consolation to a worker living below the breadline to be told he is earning more now than ten years ago. All he understands is that he is not earning enough today." Citing the unexpected effect of the Johannesburg bus boycott last year, Mr. Corbett said there was a great need for better "human relations" between employer and Non-European employee. Commerce and industry today were being encouraged to consult their Non-White employees continuously on personal and other problems. "I believe that immense good is coming and will come from this form of consultation." (*South Africa*, April 12, 1958.)

Censorship

The Managing Director of Hamish Hamilton Ltd. said in a letter to *The Times* (May 3, 1958): "In January of this year we were informed that J. D. Salinger's novel *The Catcher in the Rye* had been banned in South Africa, after having been sold there freely for the past six years. We immediately wrote to the Minister of the Interior saying that this belated

decision seemed to us inexplicable and drawing his attention to the success and influence of the book in this country and in the United States and the high praise it had received from leading critics in both countries. We asked the Minister to reconsider his decision, or at least to let us have some explanation of the banning. We received a formal acknowledgement saying that the matter would be investigated and that we should hear further. Since then we have written three times to the Minister without getting any reply. Your readers may be interested, if not surprised, by this evidence of the South African Government's high-handed and oppressive attitude towards literature."

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

South African Attitude to Good Offices Committee

THE Minister of External Affairs, Mr. E. H. Louw, said at an election meeting in Windhoek that he expected the United Nations Good Offices Committee on South-West Africa to send a formal invitation to the Union Government after the general elections to hold discussions on the Territory—probably in London. He said that recently a much more conciliatory attitude had been displayed towards the Union in the United Nations, when the question of South-West Africa was discussed in the fourth committee.

Mr. Louw added: "There cannot exist serious objections against our meeting the 'intermediary committee' and to learn about the 'new approach' which is foreshadowed. It will be realized that at this stage and without any information about the 'new approach' it would be presumptuous and improper for me to make any comment. All I can say at present is that the Union Government will not abandon the viewpoint it has always consistently maintained about the present status of South-West Africa and also about the rights obtained by the Union. The Government is further determined to safeguard the interests of the White and Non-White inhabitants of the Territory." (*Johannesburg Star*, March 20, 1958.)

Mr. Louw said that he understood from Press reports that it was the attitude of the South-West Africa division of the United Party that the original mandate, given by the League of Nations, still existed. This was certainly not the viewpoint of the Nationalist Party or the Union Government. The Union Government's viewpoint had always been that the mandate had expired when the League of Nations, to whom it was entrusted, had ceased to exist. South Africa had no responsibilities, nor would it have to give account of its administration of South-West Africa. Even before the death of the League of Nations the Union was entitled to incorporate the Territory into the Union as a fifth province. (*Cape Argus*, March 20, 1958.)

New Ordinances

Among seven draft ordinances likely to be introduced in the Legislative Assembly are the Diamonds Industry Protection Proclamation Amendment providing that certain roads in the Luderitz District will be open to the public without a permit and that the Native Reserve Ordinance providing for the addition of certain land to the Okamabhe Native Reserve—an extent of 12,860 hectares.

In reply to a question in the Legislative Assembly, the Administrator, Mr. D. T. du P. Viljoen, said that all European tenants were notified that they would have to leave the Rehoboth Gebiet eventually. The area of the Gebiet was approximately 5,032 square miles and there were a total of 121 Europeans residing there. This total was divided up into—twenty-seven owners of farms outside the Gebiet; forty-five who are farmers but have no land of their own and forty-nine European tenants who are not farmers. The Europeans living in the Gebiet at the time of the notice being issued on them had approximately 52,700 head of small stock and 5,700 head of large stock. The Baster possess approximately 310,700 head of small stock and 33,600 head of large stock. (*Windhoek Advertiser*, March 21 and 28, 1958.)

No Independence

Mr. Japie Basson, Nationalist Party candidate for Namib, said at

Windhoek that the Germans in South-West Africa were free to vote for any party they liked. The Nationalists were not holding out any electioneering promises, but relied on their past reputation. South-West Africa could never become an independent country in spite of the talk of the United Party. It was sparsely populated and had a large area. How many of the 55,000 Europeans in South-West Africa paid taxes? Independence would mean the maintenance of many services that the Union now paid for. "We will either be bankrupt or pay the highest taxes in the world if we are independent," he added. "The only answer is to become part of the Union of South Africa." Mr. Basson said the vote in South-West Africa was worth four votes in the Union; South-West Africa had six Members of Parliament instead of the two which they would have on the basis of the Union's delimitation. It did not necessarily mean that if South-West Africa joined the Union she would be under the same obligations as the provinces of the Union. For example, certain laws applied in one province and not in another. (*Cape Argus*, March 20, 1958.)

Rapid Economic Expansion

The *Johannesburg Star* (April 18, 1958) said: "South-West Africa is bursting its economic seams. . . . The population is soaring and has increased by nearly 45 per cent in the past five years. Trade and commerce are doing well. Windhoek has the highest rate of private building investment of any town in Southern Africa—£219 a head each year. The town's closest rival is Klerksdorp, with £109. Johannesburg's figure is £59. The fishing industry is bringing in millions of pounds. But communications are pitifully inadequate to deal with the demand for transport. The most glaring example was the recent congestion of shipping at Walvis Bay where shipowners had to disburse large amounts for demurrage.

"Work has started on lengthening the Walvis Bay quay by 1,300 feet. This work, with the provision of ten cranes, a harbour shed, dredging and other facilities, will cost £1,363,000."

HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES Basutoland

Multi-Racial University

PIUS XII University at Roma is now open to Whites as well as Africans. It was founded by the Catholic Church in South Africa, is backed by Canadian money and is staffed by professors and lecturers from all over the Commonwealth. The university authorities are going ahead with an integration programme in direct contrast to the academic segregation policy of the Nationalists in the Union. While the Nationalists are trying to force Non-White students into separate "tribal" universities, the Rector of Roma, Father R. Guilbeault, is welcoming White and Black students. For he believes that the exclusion of students on racial grounds is in conflict with the basic concept of a university.

The university has 121 students and thirty lecturers (only eight are priests). The lecturers are well paid and have free houses, electricity and water. The academic facilities are of a high standard and students graduate with degrees that are thought highly of all over the world. Other countries are taking an increased interest in Roma University. Germany has presented it with £6,000 worth of laboratory equipment. (*Johannesburg Sunday Express*, March 30, 1958.)

Dependence on the Union

Matthew Nkoana writing in the *Golden City Post* (February 23, 1958) said that the new measures compelling Africans from the High Commission Territories to obtain permits if they wish to remain in or enter the Union¹ would particularly affect the Basuto. The principal occupations in Basutoland are agriculture and stock-farming. But, according to its latest

¹DIGEST V, 5.

annual report, poor farming methods have made the land less productive, and soil erosion has reduced the area of arable land. Coupled with this, a developing cash economy has forced the people out of the Territory to seek work for wages in the Union. There are no industries in Basutoland other than two small printing concerns. There may be, in future, a hydro-electrical development, but at present there are no major industrial projects or other undertakings to absorb the displaced people.

The money Basuto workers earned in the Union was equal to 90 per cent of the total revenue of Basutoland for 1955. The money went into the territory in this way: deferred pay of mine-workers in the Union £241,355; money sent from the Union to families through labour agencies, £335,611; tax due to the Basutoland Government and collected in the Union £123,827; money sent through the Post Office £100,000—total £800,793.

In 1955 alone 59,085 Basutos were issued with passes to work in the Union.

Resident Commissioner's Address

Opening the Orange Free State Conference of Municipal Associations, Mr. A. G. T. Chaplin, Resident Commissioner, said he had many useful day-to-day contacts with Union authorities in his task of administering the Territory, and he appreciated the spirit of good neighbourliness which was behind their invitation to him to open their conference. Concluding his speech he referred to events "in recent months and in certain places" which had "put a great strain on this spirit". He said: "The Basotho have suffered indignities and hardships which might have been avoided. My special request is, therefore, that you as champions of the principle of consultation, and as representatives of the people most intimately concerned with this problem, might give thought to it and exert your influence through consultation towards achieving a happier solution." (*Mohlabani*, March, 1958.)

The Challenge to Congress

Mohlabani (March 1958) described the successful fifth annual conference of the Basutoland African Congress and commenting editorially said: "The success of this Conference indicates one very important fact: that Congress is a real living organization, and that the past five years have seen it grow from small beginnings into the mighty power that it is today. But because of this success Congress must not rest on its laurels and feel that it has awakened the political consciousness of the people and therefore its job is done. Though it has achieved more in its five years of existence than have other organizations in fifty years, it has done very little compared with what it still has to do and what it could do if it marshalled all its forces and exerted all its energies.

"As far as organizing the people is concerned it has only scratched the surface. There are thousands of men and women and boys and girls throughout Basutoland who are waiting to receive Congress and all it stands for with open arms, for the gospel of Congress has penetrated the most inaccessible parts of Basutoland, and what remains is that Congress leaders must get to these people and show them the path to follow. Napoleon Bonaparte once said 'Be clear and all the rest will follow'. What the people are now waiting for is to get a very clear directive from leaders of Congress as to what is expected of them and the rest will follow easily."

Bechuanaland

IN the Joint Advisory Council there was general support for a motion recommending that a Legislative Council for the Protectorate should be formed. Proposing the motion, Mr. Russell England said: "The time may seem to be a little previous but national aspirations everywhere are awake and asking for higher participation in their own affairs. Granting of the powers sought would bind this Territory together in a common loyalty and desire. Failure to grant may result in bitterness and splintering of the Territory's peoples to a degree that might for ever destroy the present opportunity of creating lasting unity. Our race relations are, I think I am correct in saying, probably better than any other similar territory in the

world. There have been proposals that portions of the country might like to go north, others go south, but these proposals have never been very serious and it is the desire perhaps of the greater part of the inhabitants of this Territory living together and we desire to build that Territory up as a political entity that can have its own being. . . .

"To assist in the achievement of this it is necessary that such a body should be vested with powers which its sense of responsibility will protect its abusing."

Seconding the motion, Mr. Tshekedi Khama said: "There is an official feeling that the time is not ripe for a Legislative Council to be formed in Bechuanaland. That the case is now being raised by representatives of both sections of the community is an indication of the trend of public feeling in the Territory today. . . . In Bechuanaland both the African and European Advisory Councils have been in existence for over thirty-five years now, the Joint Advisory Council for over five years. If this period of training is not considered long enough one cannot help wondering how much longer the training is expected to go on. . . . Again in Bechuanaland with its strong separate tribal element, its separate systems of land ownership and occupation, we have to face the issue as to what degree it is to be a federal or unitary state, one nation or two, and if as some of us wish, there is to be one nation, then 'There is need to fashion a common citizenship so as to create a bond between race and race and tribe and tribe. . . .'

"Many a time I have been asked what the inhabitants of the Territory feel the political destiny of Bechuanaland should be; whether it is wrapped up with the Union of South Africa, the Central African Federation or whether she can stand alone. I have always given the reply that the matter had not been considered. This reply was sincere and in the absence of a recognized political body composed of all races living in the Territory, I believe it was correct. The crucial point is, should this become a living issue what body is there to speak for the people unitedly?"

Chief Kebalepile said that he was very much in support of the motion. "We in the Protectorate have been for a long time politically and otherwise remaining where we are just now and we hope that in the course of time we will go forward," he said. But before any Legislative Council was formed he wanted to see many other changes such as an end to a "sort of semi-official *apartheid*". Mr. Haskins, speaking in support of the motion, said at present there was a lot of repetition as items referred to the Joint Advisory Council had also to go before the African and European Advisory Councils.

Mr. Turnbull said that the establishment of a Legislative Council would lead to a closer link with the Crown. "At present and for some time past," he said, "we have been tied by a string, rather a long string, to Pretoria. . . . We have heard a lot about our future, whether it shall be north or south or whether we should be divided up. We have no great desire to go north and I don't think we want to go south, but what we are seeking is a larger share in the management of our affairs through a Governor who would represent more directly to us the throne to which we have been loyal for so long."

Mr. Seretse Khama also supported the motion. He said: "I have lived out of the Protectorate for quite some time and in Britain I came into contact with a great many people from British Commonwealth and the Colonial Empire . . . who in their own countries occupy positions of authority and who are appreciative of their responsibilities. And amongst many of them one thing which I had always considered most impressive was the fact that racial unity in their own particular countries was one paramount thing. Their feeling was that their country was theirs and because of that it was necessary to take part in the legislation and in fact if they may be considered as incapable, or not yet qualified to occupy any responsible position in the administration, there should be no denial of opportunity. That is the only way they can learn to take part in the administration and to achieve a sense of responsibility. . . .

"One other point I think that I ought to mention is that racialism in Africa and other parts of the world has been something which seems to be very predominant in administration and actually in Government as such. We have always tended to stress the question of race. It has always been the tendency in some parts to say that in order to bring about good administration the only person who can provide that type of administration should of necessity be White. In other parts of Africa or Asia certain

peoples have also been of the opinion that in order to bring about good administration the people who administer the country should of necessity be either Black or Coloured. I think it is time that we ourselves in Bechuanaland who neither belong to the Union of South Africa nor to the Federation or to any other part as far as I can see, except to Great Britain, should try to formulate a policy of our own which is probably quite peculiar to us. And that is a policy perhaps of even teaching those countries which profess to be more advanced than ourselves, that in so far as administration and race relationships they have more to learn from us than we from them." He added that in his view there should be a Government majority in the first place.

Mr. Van Gass raised the question of the grant-in-aid received by the Territory and said he would have no objection to a Legislative Council providing it did not mean losing the financial help the Territory received at present.

At the end of the debate the Resident Commissioner said he had been very much impressed by the quality and the character of the speeches which had been made. He promised that a verbatim record of the meeting would be forwarded to the High Commissioner and he would be made aware of the feelings of the Council on this very important matter.

The Observer (May 4, 1958) commented: "The absence of an effective Legislature has kept Bechuanaland economically far behind its neighbours. It has also kept the Protectorate politically weak, and therefore inoffensive to its most powerful neighbour, the Union of South Africa, which claims it. By setting up a Legislative Council, Lord Home can give practical support to the wishes of the African and settlers' leaders, who want to set an example to their neighbours, both in the Union and in Rhodesia, in what good race relations can mean. To seize this opportunity would be to reverse a decade of misgovernment and neglect of this extensive Territory. It would also be a constructive act."

Revenue Deficit

The Commonwealth Relations Office report on the Protectorate stated that revenue during the financial year 1955-6 was £1,153,694 and expenditure £1,277,775 (including C.D.W. Fund schemes). There was thus a deficit of £124,081 compared with a deficit of £24,064 at the end of the previous financial year. The public debt amounted to £100,371 on March 31, 1956, compared with £9,346 the previous year. This marked increase was due largely to the raising in March 1956 of an inter-colonial loan for European Government housing scheme.

A population census was taken during the year, but the figure for Africans is not yet available, says the report. In 1946, when the last census was taken, there were 292,755 Africans in the Protectorate. The latest census shows that there are now 3,173 Europeans, 676 Coloureds, and 248 Asians living in the territory. More than 95 per cent of the population is engaged in stock raising.

The report also refers to the settlement of the Bamangwato problem, which was made possible, it says, by Seretse Khama's renunciation of the Chieftainship for himself and his children. Seretse returned from the United Kingdom in October of 1956 and the report says that the settlement was accepted by the people with barely a dissentient voice, which "augured well for the future".

During the year mining companies continued to show considerable interest in the mining potentialities of the Protectorate. The report continues: This interest is directed mainly towards the Bushman Mine copper deposits north-west of Francistown, the nickel copper occurrence at Magogophate in the north-eastern Bamangwato Reserve, the potential coalfields in the Palpye and Mamabula-Debeeti-Artis areas, and the salt deposits in the Makarikari region."

Swaziland

Economic Development Schemes

MISS MARY BENSON writing in the *Cape Argus* (April 2, 1958) said: "The Swazi people have been more fortunate than most tribes in Africa in their contacts with Europeans and industrialization.

"Of the 240,000 Swazis, about 11,000 go each year to South Africa's mines and cities where pay is higher and where the young men feel they can prove themselves, but the number of yearly contracts entered into by each man is gradually reduced as opportunities open up in Swaziland. Private firms and the Colonial Development Corporation schemes are employing as many as 18,000 Swazis."

Describing the Colonial Development Corporation scheme at Usutu, Miss Benson said: "The statistics are impressive—90,000 acres already planted, 400 miles of road, ninety miles of telephone system, thirty African villages and compounds, sixty houses for Europeans, three Swazi and one European primary school, small irrigation dams stocked with trout, 350 miles of firebreak. When the trees mature the hope is to have a utilization plan based on a pulping process, probably to produce bulk paper from all the small-diametered young wood with, if necessary, sawmilling operations to use all the older, larger-diametered wood for lumber. The British taxpayer, who provided the £2,500,000 so far laid out on this scheme, can be proud."

The *New Commonwealth* (April 14, 1958) reported that the C.D.C. and Sir J. L. Hulett and Sons Ltd. of Durban were to form a joint company—the Mhlume (Swaziland) Sugar Co. Ltd., for the growing and milling of sugar cane in Swaziland. The company has been allocated an annual milling quota of 40,000 tons of sugar and intends to build and equip a mill on the C.D.C.'s irrigation scheme in the north of Swaziland, costing £1½ million as the first part of its £4 million development plan.

WEST AFRICA

Royal Visit

It has been announced that the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh are to visit Ghana towards the end of next year, at the invitation of Dr. Nkrumah. They will also visit Sierra Leone and Gambia.

Ghana

Conference of Independent African States¹

THE Conference of Independent African States was opened in Accra on April 15, by Dr. Nkrumah. The purpose of the Conference was, he said, to enable the states represented there to know one another and exchange views on matters of common interest; to endeavour to consolidate and safeguard their independence; to strengthen economic and cultural ties; to find ways of helping those still under colonial rule; to examine the problem of how to secure peace and to appeal to the great powers to disarm and thus save the world from destruction.

Dr. Nkrumah emphasized the responsibility of Africa's Independent States to hasten the total liberation of Africa, the last remaining stronghold of Colonialism.

He gave a warning against the subversive attempts of "the Imperialists of today" to influence the policies of small and uncommitted countries in a particular direction and stated the need on the part of these countries to be alert and vigilant.

He commended for the Conference's support the five principles recognized at Bandung and other conferences: non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality, mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence.

Dr. Nkrumah then spoke of the need for the Independent States to explore mutual trade possibilities as well as enlarging their trade with the rest of the world. He emphasized the need for studying and developing the resources of Africa and for co-operative action both between Independent African states and with friendly nations outside Africa in respect of the great schemes for various parts of Africa. He commended too in the cultural field the exchange of students and missions and the pooling of scientific and technical resources.

¹A pamphlet by Colin Legum reviewing this Conference will be published shortly by the Africa Bureau.

Dr. Nkrumah pointed out that these goals required a world of order and security as their background and emphasized his vested interest in world peace.

He referred to the astronomical sums of money being spent by the great powers on piling up stocks of the most destructive weapons that have ever been contrived. If only a small fraction of that money, he said, could be diverted to finance the economic and social programmes of the underdeveloped countries of the world it would contribute greatly to the cause of humanity and the attainment of world peace. (*Ghana Today*, April 30, 1958.)

Amongst the resolutions passed was one expressing deep concern at the continuance of the Algerian War and France's denial to the Algerian people of their right of independence and self-determination. The conference affirmed its determination to "make every possible effort to help the Algerian people towards the attainment of independence".

With a view to achieving a unanimity of fundamental aims and principles in the foreign policies of the participating states, a resolution was passed affirming unswerving loyalty to and support of the Charter of the United Nations, and adherence to the principles enunciated at Bandung.

On behalf of the Ethiopian Delegation Ato Abebe Reta, Minister of Commerce, said it was with a sense of profound joy that Ethiopia welcomed to the community of nations the new states of Sudan, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, and Ghana. "Our regret," he said, "is that the free peoples of Africa represent but one-third of the total populations of this continent. . . . Nor is it a question solely of political freedom. In certain parts of Africa the most inhuman régime of purely racial discrimination is being perpetrated under the guise of so-called democratic government. It becomes the duty of us, the independent nations of Africa, to mobilize world conscience and public opinion with a view to eliminating the injustices of this inhuman practice."

Ato Abebe Reta said their deepest promptings must be far more than a mere defensive reaction against the forces of colonialism. They must respond to a fresh endeavour to accomplish greater things, to achieve a broad and permanent contribution to the progress of humanity and the establishment of a just peace among the peoples of the earth. "We must remember that Africa alone today, and I do not refer to the untold wealth that still remains to be revealed, produces over 60 per cent of the world's gold, over 60 per cent of the world's uranium and over 90 per cent of the world's radium, as well as vast quantities of copper, hardwoods and food-stuffs." In addition, he added, a new era was opening in the field of oil exploitation, which might put Africa in the forefront of the world's producers of petroleum. Consequently, the Ethiopian delegation would lend its support to all propositions which might be made at the Conference for strengthening economic co-operation among African states.

Ato Abebe Reta said it was equally important that there should be cultural exchanges between the leaders and youth of their respective countries. The Ethiopian delegation was confident that the Conference would make progress in that all-important development. The Ethiopian Emperor had commanded him to announce the establishment in Ethiopia for students from all parts of Africa fifty scholarships over a period of four years.

Dr. Wahbi Elbury of Libya, hoped that the Conference could trace the outline of a political community having as its aims respect for liberty, justice and the sacred principles of humanity—"ends for which so many of the peoples of this continent have struggled and are still struggling". In several places in Africa people were made victims of humiliating racial policies which were contrary to the spirit of the century, to the Charter of United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Libya firmly opposed all such policies and in the same way she associated herself with peoples of the other regions of Africa who were fighting for their independence and their birthright. Peace in Africa could not be assured without regard to justice and equity for African problems.

President Tubman of Liberia said: "I think I voice the sentiments of us all when I say it is regrettable that the bulk of our 170 million people are still subject to foreign rule and, because their heritage is not their own, are unable to be represented in our deliberations." It was of significance, said Mr. Tubman, that the Conference had not been called in order to partition or expropriate any portion of the earth's surface which inherently belonged

to others. On the contrary, they had come with the hope of advancing the interest and welfare of the peoples of Africa. More than that, their interest should also extend beyond nationalism into the broad arena of international affairs and seek to ameliorate, as far as possible, the strained relations which harassed the minds of men and nations.

In a world divided into two camps—East and West—problems were viewed and resolved on narrow principles of nationalism and expediency and not necessarily on the merits of right and wrong. Without such prejudices, they could embark on new endeavours and form a new policy in world affairs which was not cankered by hate or passion but based solely on the principle of justice, regardless of the consequences.

The Moroccan Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sayed Mohamed Ahmed Balafredj, told the Conference that their first aim should be to "go to the rescue of those of our friends who are fighting for their freedom". Morocco, after its many struggles and sacrifices against colonialism, would hardly remain unconcerned to the struggle of other peoples for their liberation. The Minister made particular reference to the Algerian situation which he described as "a cause of insecurity and an obstacle to the harmonious development of North Africa". One of the principal objectives of the King of Morocco and his Government was the union of the countries of North Africa.

"Dr. Mahmoud Fawzy, Minister of Foreign Affairs and leader of the United Arab Republic Delegation, said: 'The very convening of this Conference is a symbol of our times and a most notable milestone on humanity's road to new forms and relationships among nations and to a nearer approach, a further ascent, to the hallowed ideals of man, ideals to which the climb brings dizziness to some, but to the steady and the sane, means healthier air and wider horizons.'"

Dr. Fawzy said the attainment of full statehood by many nations had been symbolic of a process of transition from domination to co-operation, from exploitation to mutual constructiveness and of stepping into sanity and into light. Africa had been, and was still to a great extent, a victim in the game of domination; and the nineteenth century policy and action of partitioning it were far from being entirely abandoned or completely reversed. The struggle for freedom should continue.

Dr. Sadok Mokaddem, Tunisian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, said the colonial powers did not know how to bring about in time the necessary change-over and conversion in their relationships with the colonial peoples and were neglecting their last chance of establishing fruitful co-operation with the people under their domination. His Government would not cease to marshal all efforts to bring about a just, peaceful and democratic end to the conflict in Algeria. In spite of the obstinacy of the French Government his Government would not yield to any pressure and would continue to work for the resumption of peace in North Africa and for the realization of the legitimate hopes of the Algerian people. (*Ghana Today*, April 30, 1958.)

Sayed Mohamed Ahmed Mahgoub, Sudanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, said that Sudanese foreign policy could be summarized as "neutrality with respect to the two Eastern and Western blocs and co-operation with either of them if such co-operation is in the interests of the Sudan; non-alignment with any of the Arab blocs and endeavour to bring them closer together and reconcile their differences; co-operation in all fields with independent African nations and encouragement of liberation movements in the dependent territories of the African Continent and elsewhere; avoidance of military pacts except for the defence of the Sudan against overt aggression; acceptance of foreign economic assistance and loans which do not derogate from the Independence and the Sovereignty of the Sudan; and refusal of offers of conditional aid or loans which might warrant any foreign intervention in the domestic affairs of the country. We must devote more attention to the development of inter-African trade." He added: "We in the Sudan have chosen democracy and have freely adopted an economic system which tends towards socialism."

Newspapers throughout the world commented on the Conference and its significance. The *Morning News* (of Pakistan) described it as a bold experiment, but doubted whether the common characteristic of independent African countries breaking from colonial domination was a sufficient cementing force for the evolution of an African personality.

The *Pretoria News* (April 17, 1958) said: "Although the meeting has

been called for the express intention of forging closer links in foreign affairs, economics and culture, it can also be confidently expected that the opportunity will not be lost to whip up emotionalism against such things as, for example, racial discrimination in South Africa and the Federation and the policies of the European colonial powers in general."

James Cameron writing in the *News Chronicle* (April 22, 1958) said that the closing terms of the Ghana Congress make it abundantly clear that the eight free nations of Africa, representing 70 million people, have formally taken over responsibility for the whole continent, where another 170 million remain, as they call it "enslaved" or as we might say "dependent". It is true that their voice may be more powerful than their physical means, but it would be a foolish statesman who from now on shrugged it off.

Le Monde, a Paris newspaper, carried a report of the Conference and Andre Blanchet, the paper's special correspondent, said: "Dr. Nkrumah has always taken care that his 'Pan-Africanism' should not take on an aggressive tone. In seven years of power he has rarely attacked a colonial power and rarely condemned the racial politics of South Africa."

"One finds once again this relative moderation in the inaugural address. In his obvious care not to pronounce a wounding word towards anybody, the Prime Minister has denied all types of racial prejudice and refrained from naming the powers whose rule the African people have either freed themselves from or are trying to. Denouncing vigorously 'colonialism', Dr. Nkrumah didn't refer to anyone in particular."

The United States Vice-President, Mr. Richard M. Nixon, hailed the independent states of Africa at a Tunisian Embassy reception held in Washington to mark the opening of the Accra Conference. (*Accra Daily Graphic*, April 18, 1958.)

Broadcasting on the Accra Conference, Mr. Colin Legum said: "Its primary aim was to discover something called an African personality in international affairs. By this is meant the formulation of policies that would express the common aspirations of all the African states: all, that is, except South Africa, the solitary European-dominated country in the continent. Of the other eight independent states, five are mainly Arab, and the remaining three are Black or Negro. . . ."

"Although the African states found themselves in broad agreement on a wide range of subjects, it would be wrong to suppose that there are no divisions between them. But it would, too, be wrong to conclude that the divisions are between the Arab states on the one side and the Black African non-Muslim states on the other. One of the interesting aspects of the Conference was the closeness of view between two Arab states like Morocco and Tunisia, one African state—Ghana—and the Sudan: four countries that appear to have a strongly developed political unity. The United Arab Republic, though represented by its agile and intelligent Foreign Minister, Dr. Fawzy, appeared to have played a lone hand. Most of the compromises came from its side. (*Listener*, May 1, 1958.)

Israel and Ghana

After attending the Independence Anniversary Celebrations, Mrs. Golda Meir, the Israeli Minister for Foreign Affairs, toured Ghana. Mrs. Golda Meir was received by the Prime Minister and spoke at a public lecture held at the Accra Community Centre, on "Women of Israel". She visited Ashanti and Southern Ghana; before her departure Mrs. Meir said: "I have enjoyed my visit immensely, and have been tremendously impressed by the spirit of your leaders and your people, and by your determination to bend all your efforts to developing your land, raising the standard of living of the entire population, and consolidating your independence. I have also been impressed by the popularity of your Government leaders and their closeness to the people and their problems." (*Ghana Today*, April 16, 1958.)

The Governments of Ghana and Israel are to establish a £200,000 joint construction company, the "Ghana National Construction Company". An Israeli Finance Ministry spokesman said in Tel Aviv that the joint company would carry out large-scale public works in Ghana. Mr. Kojo Botsio, Minister of State, who led a Government delegation to Israel last year, said that the new company was another result of their visit to Israel. The company was meant to build factories and establish industries, he added. Mr. Botsio said the Government might, however, ask the company

to do other types of work as the need arose. It would bring Israeli experts to carry out the construction work. The Minister said that the major aspect of the agreement to establish the new company would be the training of Ghanaians in constructional work and the running of industries. This is the second joint enterprise between Ghana and Israel.

Mr. William M. Q. Halm, President of the "Black Star" Line, who served on the trade mission visiting Britain, has been appointed Ghana's first Ambassador to Israel. (*Accra Daily Graphic*, March 25, 1958.)

Diversification of Food Crops

Professor Arthur Lewis, Economic Adviser to the Prime Minister, has told members of the Ghana Geographical Association in Accra that the outlook on growing different kinds of crops in Ghana was good. He said the Government had no money for large plantation schemes. He felt it was the duty of the Agricultural Development Corporation to establish small plantations of cash crops for the benefit of peasant farmers. Professor Lewis said that irrigation of the Accra plains to make the soil more fertile did not depend on the Volta River Scheme.

Diversification was needed to increase the output of both cash and consumable crops. Farmers should be encouraged to grow crops such as palm oil seeds, rubber, banana and sugar-cane because they commanded considerable prices on the world market. (*Accra Daily Graphic*, March 31, 1958.)

Kumasi State Council Declaration

The Kumasi State Council has announced that it will support and co-operate with the Government. Criticizing this decision Dr. K. A. Busia, Parliamentary Leader of the Opposition, said: "All the Council has said is that it would not support any political party, but if any party won an election and formed a government it would support it. That is to say the Council is prepared invariably to obey any government. Whether that is the best way to serve the course of chieftaincy time alone will tell," Dr. Busia declared. Earlier, Dr. Busia had paid tribute to the Kumasi State Council for the part it played in furthering the course of the former National Liberation Movement. (*Accra Daily Graphic*, April 5, 1958.)

Volta River Scheme¹

A statement from the Development Commission stated that Aluminium Limited of Canada, the company so far principally concerned with the Volta scheme, had decided that in the present circumstances, they were "not in a position to proceed with the scheme immediately and do not wish to stand in the way of other interested parties". This is understood to mean that Aluminium Limited of Canada which holds bauxite concessions in Ghana would be prepared to negotiate for the ultimate release of those concessions if the Volta River scheme was implemented; but they would continue to maintain interest in the project. (*Accra Daily Graphic*, March 22, 1958.)

The Port of Tema

Mr. J. Allan Cash, writing in *New Commonwealth* (April 14, 1958), described the growth of the new port at Tema. This will be the largest artificial harbour in Africa. The total cost will probably be in the neighbourhood of £14 million. A total of some 500 acres of water will be enclosed and protected by the two rock-rubble breakwaters. A dockyard is also being built, equipped with a fitting-out quay, a small dry dock, slipways and workshops. All this is being built on reclaimed land inside the lee breakwater. A fishing harbour will also be built outside the lee breakwater, with a small breakwater of its own, providing some twenty acres of protected water. It is intended to commercialize fishing here and also to provide the Africans with accommodation for their canoe fishing, as carried out at present on the same site. Altogether some 3,000 men are employed in this project, most of them being housed in permanent buildings in the new and rapidly growing town of Tema, which will eventually have a population of some 50,000 people.

Attempt to Stabilize Cocoa Prices

A Ghana delegation led by Mr. K. A. Gbedemah, Minister of Finance, ¹DIGEST V, 5.

will attend the third session of the Cocoa Study Group of the Food and Agriculture Organization to discuss a possible international agreement for a stabilized world cocoa price.

The value of West African cocoa exports to the United Kingdom during the first three months of this year showed a sharp rise over the same period of 1957. According to figures released by the Board of Trade in London, the value of British cocoa purchases rose by over 50 per cent—from £9,577,000 to £14,659,000.

The United States Department of Agriculture's Foreign Agriculture Service reported that Ghana would continue to be a principal supplier of cocoa to the United States. The report said improved living standards, accompanying progressing industrialization, will provide opportunities for the United States to increase its exports to Ghana. It praised the "enthusiasm" and excellent marketing machinery that have contributed to the success of Ghana's cocoa industry. (*Accra Daily Graphic*, April 28 and 30, 1958.)

American Technical Help

As a result of discussions with the International Co-operation Administration Survey Team, the Government is to request technical assistance from the United States for a large development programme. This programme involves agricultural, livestock and veterinary education and geological and rural water development. It will affect all regions and will extend over the next five years.

The programme involves the provision of twenty-nine experts and technicians for agricultural projects. These officers will implement extension programmes to improve farm management and farming practices by utilizing demonstration techniques to pass agricultural knowledge and experience to the farmer. They will also train junior and supporting staff in all phases of extension work. They will work with the Department of Agriculture and with other appropriate Government agencies.

A request is also being made in the geological field for the provision of practical field training in the United States for Ghanaian geological students who are now attending American universities and also for the training of a Ghanaian geologist by the United States Geological Survey.

In order to co-ordinate and control the technical assistance contributions to this extensive programme, the Government is asking the I.C.A. to establish a mission in Accra as quickly as possible. This mission will be headed by a director who will be supported by a staff of six. (*Ghana Today*, April 16, 1958.)

Nigeria

Chief Festus's First Budget

MOVING the second reading of the Appropriations Bill to provide for the expenditure of £38,276,480 during the financial year to end on March 31, 1959, the Federal Minister of Finance, Chief Festus Okotie-Eboh, told members: "My colleagues and I have tried to present you with a budget which reflects a country fully prepared to shoulder its responsibilities as an emergent nation."

The Minister, who was presenting the first budget by a Nigerian Minister in the House of Representatives, said that as against an estimated surplus of £910,000 in the 1957-8 financial year, it was evident that the surplus would be nearer £4 million, which, he said, was mainly due to the "inability of certain departments to use the money voted to them by this House". The cause, he added, was lack of executive capacity. "We have competent administrative, professional and technical staff, but we have not yet got enough men of these categories for all our urgent development needs". The Minister went on to say that the training of Nigerians was, of course, the ultimate solution, and it was the policy of the Federal Government to press on with such training to the greatest extent possible.

"Touching on the Government's determination to do all in its power to attract investment, 'which we so badly need', the Minister said: 'As a further measure of our earnestness in this matter my colleagues and I have decided upon changes in the structure of company taxation in Nigeria. The House will be asked to approve a Bill under which, with effect from the

year of assessment beginning on April 1, 1958, the rate of company tax is to be reduced from nine shillings to eight shillings in the pound and it will be possible to carry forward losses indefinitely instead of for only ten years as at present." (Federal Nigeria, March 1958.)

The *West African Pilot* (March 3, 1958) said that "the consequences of a European Common Market would be disastrous for Nigeria and the West African territories outside the plan. These territories, which depend mainly on produce exported to Europe, will find that the demand for their goods has fallen off as a result of discriminatory tariffs, which are aimed at making their prices higher than those of the countries within the plan. In the long run this would lead to the absurd situation in which these territories would have no market at all in Europe for their produce—an expensive economic strangulation which the strangled cannot afford to undergo. . . .

"What the Federal Government should do is to study the scheme in concert with other West African territories and then present a United front before members of the European Common Market. The fact that Britain is involved in the scheme in many ways further strengthens the case for a united West African front."

Trade Unions Report on Wages

The report has been issued of the National Wage Committee set up by the National Executive Committee of the All-Nigeria Trade Union Federation to investigate the rise and fall in the cost of living between October, 1954, and September, 1957; to examine other factors in relation to the rising cost of living and inflation; to investigate the existing wage policies of the Governments of the Federation and other employers of labour; and to make recommendations on a National Wage Structure for all classes of labour.

The report shows that in the period under review there was an aggregate rise in prices of 14 per cent in Lagos, 17 per cent in Ibadan and 2 per cent in Enugu.

The Committee finds that the speed of industrial development of the last few years has caused the immigration of labour from the rural areas to the larger towns, thus raising the cost of living in these towns. It also finds that Gorsuch awards in Lagos and all the regions and the recent rise in postal rates and transport fares have forced up the cost of living.

It points out that since 1954, legislators in the Federal and Regional legislatures have raised their salaries twice—first from £400 per annum to £600 per annum and then to £800 per annum. It also complains of the competitive wage structure of the different governments of the Federation, which, it points out, not only affect workers on the lower rungs of the wage scale, but also schoolteachers and magistrates. On this issue "the committee contends that nothing is capable of causing greater confusion and demoralization among employees than such a system which offers different terms and conditions of service to nationals of the same country with identical training, qualifications and experience".

The report finds the same disparity between the wages and salaries of those occupying executive posts and the humbler grades of workers in commerce and industry. It repudiates the argument that demands for a higher wage scale would drive foreign capital out of the country. It finds that more and more firms have come into the country since 1954 and most of them are doing well and the long-established firms have strengthened their positions. It says, "The propaganda of driving investors away is false and misleading. The simple fact is that in order to plough a maximum of profit away and to continue to pay starvation wages, the campaign against wage demands has been intensified. There is no gainsaying the fact that both the Government and the firms are aware that present wages are inadequate, especially in the case of the lower-paid group." (*West Africa*, April 5, 1958.)

Loan by the International Bank

Chief Festus Okotie-Eboh, Federal Minister of Finance, and Mr. R. A. Njoku, Federal Minister of Transport, have signed on behalf of the Federation of Nigeria a loan agreement with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

The loan is for the equivalent of £10 million and is lent at an annual interest rate of 5½ per cent.

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development is an international agency with sixty-seven member countries. The Bank was founded to provide international capital for increasing production, raising living standards and helping bring about better balance in world trade. The Bank obtains its loan from the capital subscriptions of its member countries and by borrowing in the capital markets of the world. As Nigeria is not yet a member of the International Bank it has only been possible for the Bank to make her a loan because the United Kingdom has agreed, as the member of the Bank representing Nigeria, to guarantee all payments due to the Bank under the loan.

Central Bank Established

Mr. R. P. Fenton, an Adviser to the Bank of England, has been invited by the Federal Government to become the first Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria. This follows the passing into law of the Central Bank of Nigeria Bill at the Budget Session of the House of Representatives. The principal objects of the bank will be to issue legal tender currency in Nigeria, to maintain external reserves in order to safeguard the international value of that currency, to promote monetary stability and a sound financial structure in Nigeria, and to act as banker and financial adviser to the Government. (*Federal Nigeria*, April 1958.)

Chief Awolowo Addresses Action Group

The Premier of the Western Region and Leader of the Action Group, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, has declared that Nigeria could not longer tolerate British rule after April 2, 1960. Delivering his presidential address to the fourth annual congress of the Action Group he said that the only obstacle in the way of attaining this "noble objective" in 1956 was presented by the Northern Peoples Congress (the Government Party in Northern Nigeria and the Federal Prime Minister's Party). The Premier went on: "Furthermore, in the present context of politics on the continent, it is absolutely unbearable that Nigeria, the most populous and the most potentially powerful and influential country in all Africa should be treated as a subaltern, and with the patronizing and contemptuous attitude which some independent African states have exhibited in their conduct, if not in words, towards us as a people."

Chief Awolowo added that there would be no compromise at the Resumed Constitutional Conference on the questions of the creation of new states in Nigeria, Universal Adult Suffrage for local, regional and federal elections, the regionalization of the police force and the "academic independence" of the University College, Ibadan, by 1960. He described the question of the creation of more states as a "vexed issue" and the "one mighty solitary rock on which the ship of Nigeria's well-being and prosperity could founder". He strongly criticized the recruitment policy of the University College, Ibadan, and said that throughout the country the University was becoming a by-word for shameless indiscipline. He alleged that, by a subtle policy of divide and rule, a violent conflict of difference had reared up among the African staff. It was his view that in 1960 many Nigerians would "resist and indeed detest" the presence of an expatriate principal and an expatriate vice-principal in the University College. (*News from Nigeria*, April 30, 1958.)

Chiefs and the Government in the North

In his speech from the Throne in the Northern House of Chiefs, Sir Gawain Bell, Governor of the Northern Region, spoke about the fears entertained in some quarters about the future relationship between the Regional Government and individual Native authorities. He said it is resolved to treat Native authorities, irrespective of their political sympathies, with strict impartiality and scrupulously to refrain from any action which could be attributed to political bias.

Sir Gawain referred to the importance of preserving mutual trust and confidence between the people on the one hand and those in authority on the other, especially those such as chiefs and title-holders whose position is based on tradition and not upon popular election. During the past twelve months all Native authorities have applied themselves to this problem by examining their administrations and eliminating the worst abuses. Although valuable work had already been proposed, the Governor

emphasized that the task was necessarily a slow and laborious one and that more still remained to be done. (*News from Nigeria*, March 22, 1958.)

Towards an Autonomous University

The establishment, during the 1957-8 session, of two new departments—the Department of Economic and Social Studies and the Institute of Education—as well as plans for the introduction of courses in Arabic Studies, European Modern Languages and Geology, all form part of a general programme of expansion aimed at developing the University College at Ibadan into a fully equipped and comparatively large institution which in due course could seek to be established as an autonomous university. The aspect of expansion considered to be of immediate importance is increase in student population. At present there are some 800 students in residence. Subject to availability of funds, it is expected that the student population will have increased to 2,000 in the next ten years.

In addition to the new courses already mentioned, the College plans, in the very near future, to prepare students for honours degrees in the following departments: Economic and Social Studies (for the degree of Bachelor of Science, in Economics); Animal Production (for the degree of Bachelor of Science with honours in Agriculture); Physiology (for the degree of Bachelor of Science, special in Physiology); and Religious Studies (for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity). (*Federal Newsletter*, March 1958.)

Constitutional Change

A ministerial system of government has come into force in the Southern Cameroons. The constitutional changes bringing this about were agreed at the time of the Nigerian conference in London last June and have since been embodied in an Order-in-Council. Last month Sir James Robertson, Governor-General of the Federation of Nigeria and now also styled High Commissioner for the Southern Cameroons, agreed on the date of their introduction after talks in Lagos with Mr. J. O. Field, the Commissioner of the Cameroons and Dr. E. M. L. Endeley, who has now become the first Premier of the Southern Cameroons.

Other changes are that a House of Chiefs is created as a deliberative body, the elected membership of the House of Assembly is increased, and the Executive Council is given an unofficial majority. Provision is also made for an increase in the allocation to the Southern Cameroons of revenue derived from certain import duties. One of the present obligations of the United Kingdom Government to the Cameroons under the trusteeship agreement is to administer the territory as an integral part of Nigeria. When Nigeria becomes independent this arrangement will no longer be possible, and it was agreed at the conference last year that the people of both North and South Cameroons would be given the chance to state freely their wishes for their future. (*The Times*, May 15, 1958.)

At the annual conference of the Kameroun National Congress (Dr. Endeley's Party) the Party adopted a resolution expressing support for the continued association of the Southern Cameroons with the Federation of Nigeria. (*News from Nigeria*, May 3, 1958.)

OTHER AFRICAN TERRITORIES

Belgian Africa

Congo Moves Towards Partnership

BRIAN PARKES (*Johannesburg Star*, March 5, 1958) claimed that in the Belgian Congo the Belgians have plumped for partnership. Ultimately, many of them visualize a "Commonwealth of Two Nations"—the mother country and the Congo. It is more than possible, if this "commonwealth" comes to fruition, that the child will finally run the affairs of its parent.

He said that the system of "assimilation" had failed. Since 1908 official figures showed that of 13 million people only 116 and their families

were recognized as *évolués*. Theoretically, anybody can become an *évolué*.

Economically, the advanced Congolese were doing well compared with some other territories. In Leopoldville alone there are 200 Congolese families with incomes exceeding £4,000 a year. More than 300 families get between £2,000 and £4,000 annually, and there are more than 10,000 families who earn about £700.

There are building loans for the Congolese, and 166,000 peasant families have been settled on selected farms covering 4 million acres. Of more than 17,000 business firms registered, more than 8,000 are in the hands of the Congolese.

A person who employs a Congolese must provide housing or a housing allowance, also basic clothing and a food and family allowance. A house servant in Leopoldville gets about eight shillings a day. There are 26,250 schools for them. The Louvain University is four years old, and a medical college and teaching hospital have just been opened. There are 214 hospitals and maternity homes for the Congolese, run or subsidized by the State, and another 124 which are privately run. Throughout the Congo there are nearly 2,000 dispensaries.

The Congolese are obviously going to get more and more as they move towards the complete racial equality which the Minister of Colonies has promised them.

Groupe Marzorati

The Groupe Marzorati, an inter-racial organization for the study of African problems, has been set up under the Presidency of Mrs. Alfred Marzorati, widow of the first civilian Governor of Ruanda-Urundi. Three seminars are already at work: Social and Economic Affairs (Chairman, Professor Yves Urbain; Vice-Chairman, Mr. J. Birol-Baranyanka); Social and Cultural Affairs, and International Affairs (both presided over by Africans). The Group's aim is "eventually to submit to public opinion and to responsible people in Belgium, the Congo and Ruanda-Urundi pamphlets presenting the results of (its) preliminary debates . . . so as to foster wider discussions, deeper exchange of ideas and . . . (ultimately) to reach a certain amount of agreement on basic issues related to Africa". The Group hopes to establish a small number of fellowships, particularly for Africans engaged in public work. Its address is: 11 rue des Pároissiens, Brussels.

French Africa

Formation of a "Common Front"

THE attempt to merge the three major parties in French Africa failed. When party leaders met at Dakar the parties again failed, as they had already done in Paris, to agree on a name for the party. The *Rassemblement Démocratique Africain* continued to insist on retaining their name for the new, unified party. The others continued to insist on a change of name. Arising out of this disagreement two major decisions were taken. First, the *Convention Africain* (led by M. Leopold Senghor), the M.S.A. (French Africa Socialist Party, led by M. Lamine Guéye), and five minor parties (including the *Rassemblement Démocratique Volaique*, led by M. Gerard Ouédraogo, and the *Rassemblement Démocratique Dahomeen*, led by M. Hulbert Maga) decided to merge into one party to be called the *Parti du Régrouperment Africain* (P.R.A.).

The R.D.A., of which M. Felix Houphouët-Boigny is president, and which claims a majority of supporters over all other parties in French Africa, did not join. Second, the R.D.A. agreed to form a "common front" with the P.R.A. and any other party which is willing to join them, on a programme of "African action".

The "common front" will take as its basis the programme agreed to by the February 1958 meeting of African leaders in Paris. Major points in that programme are: complete internal autonomy for each of the territories of A.O.F. and A.E.F.; the grouping of these territories into two federations to whose governments the territories will yield certain powers; the federal governments to be responsible to federal assemblies, to have internal sovereignty and the right to opt for independence. The federal governments would, however, cede control over defence, money, higher

education and justice to a federal government consisting of A.O.F. and A.E.F., Somaliland and Madagascar; eventually the creation is envisaged of a confederal union consisting of the new federal French Republic and French independent states, like Morocco, etc. (*West Africa*, April 5, 1958.)

German Interest

Under the Chairmanship of the President of the German Bundestag a meeting was held in Bonn at which the problem of investment in Africa was discussed. He had recently visited French West Africa. Speakers at the meeting included M. Gabriel Lisette, Vice-President of the Government of Tchad, who is one of the R.D.A.'s economic experts, and M. J. Vignes, one of the senior economists in the French Ministry for Overseas France. Another speaker was M. Aukes, director of the Afrika Institute in Rotterdam. (*West Africa*, March 22, 1958.)

Togoland Election Results

The elections in French Togoland led to a victory by the nationalist parties over the existing Government parties, who supported the Territory's present status of an autonomous republic within the French Union. Of the forty-six seats in the new chamber, twenty-nine were won by the main opposition party, the *Comité d'Unité Togolaise*, and four by Independents.

The Times (April 20, 1958) commented: "French Togoland has voted for a continuation of the United Nations trusteeship rather than acceptance of the statute of internal autonomy within the French Union recently granted by France. The Government parties which formed a coalition in the old chamber, led by Mr. Grunitsky, the Prime Minister, were in favour of accepting the statute. But the C.U.T. preferred to continue the trusteeship, so as to keep a way of approach open to the United Nations should France, the protecting power, refuse to recognize the country's 'right to full independence'."

"These were the first elections held in French Togoland under universal suffrage, which is believed to be one reason for the C.U.T.'s unexpected victory. In 1956 only those with a special civil status were able to vote."

Russell Howe (*Ghana Daily Graphic*, April 21, 1958) reported: "Many members of the French business community favour independence, for they predict that an independent Togo will join the sterling zone. . . . Since the Ghana-Togo frontier between the Ewes is artificial, recent, and 'made in Europe', and since great community of sentiment exists between North Togo and Northern Ghana, there would be much to recommend a federal arrangement, which would give Togo a strong currency—sterling and advantages of membership of the Commonwealth. Many Togolese, talking in private, seem to view federation with Ghana as a foregone conclusion. . . . Some sort of union between Togo and Ghana even if it is only an economic one, could be the first modest step towards united nations of West Africa."

He added that the leading figures were Mr. S. Olympio, formerly a businessman and now leader of the C.U.T., and Mr. Anani Santos, a barrister and leader of the Juvento Party. Both of these had been frequent petitioners to the U.N. The C.U.T., which has had as its policy independence and the reunification of the Ewe people, has now been joined by the third opposition party, *Mouvement Populaire Togolais*.

Controversy about Federation in French West Africa

The *Grand Conseil* of French West Africa passed a resolution in favour of setting up a responsible and representative federal executive to cover subjects which are under the direction of the French High Commissioner and his officials. In August 1957 the *Grand Conseil* passed its first resolution in favour of a responsible federal executive. Since then the conference of Vice-Presidents of French Africa, as well as the major political parties of French Africa, have also urged the creation of a federal executive. The new resolution added that the setting up of this new institution was an urgent necessity. (*West Africa*, April 12, 1958.)

Later the Territorial Assembly of the Ivory Coast, in a unanimous vote, called for direct links with Metropolitan France and rejected the idea of a Franco-African federation. (*Ghana Daily Graphic*, April 15, 1958.)

West Africa (April 19, 1958) commented that the rejection could be interpreted as a major split within the R.D.A. In the Ivory Coast the R.D.A. was under the leadership of M. Houphouët-Boigny, who was Minister of Health in the last French Cabinet. On his return to Paris he said that he was delighted that the Ivory Coast had decided to unite its culture and economy with France, its colonizing country.

The Times (April 11, 1958) pointed out that the setting up of a federal executive as the logical consequence of the outline law was originally advocated by the *Convention Africaine*, the greatest strength of which is in Senegal. At the Bamako congress of the *Rassemblement Démocratique Africain* it was taken up by the vice-president, M. Sekou Touré, the Prime Minister of French Guinea. This conflicted with the views of M. Houphouët-Boigny, who favoured association of individual territories with France in a Franco-African community.

The Ivory Coast was the only territory that could stand on its own, having a budget surplus and exports which amounted to £51 million in 1957. The other territories, with the exception of Guinea, are poor, and for their strength lies in federation.

France has a big financial interest in the establishment of a Franco-African community. Since the war she has poured money into Africa, and local politicians are not anxious that she should cease. M. Sekou Touré has very radical views, but knows that his country desperately needs French aid to open up its considerable mineral resources. France will for a long time be the giver and Africa the taker.

New Prime Minister for French Cameroons

Reviewing the present situation in the French Cameroons, the Cameroons Correspondent wrote in *West Africa* (May 10, 1958): "To appreciate the circumstances leading to the recent resignation of the former Prime Minister, M. André Marie Mbida, it is necessary to understand the political situation in the French Cameroons. Political parties, as such, do not exist, so at general elections most candidates stand as individuals. When I inquired about this I was informed that formation of political parties was not encouraged by the French Government. Rather, the French authorities introduced in the Legislative Assembly political groups based on regional origins. There are four such groups, each with a leader, representing the North (Hausa and Fulani), Western (Grasslands), Central (Yaoundé, etc.), and Coastal (Douala, Edéa, etc.) areas. The Northern group is known as the *Groupe d'Union Camerounais*; the Western—*Groupe des Paysans (Peasants) Indépendants*; the Central—*Groupe Démocrates Camerounais* (M. Mbida's group); the Coastal—*Group d'Action Nationale de Cameroun* (M. Soppo Priso's Group). The Legislative Assembly is made up to seventy elected members, thirty from the North, eleven from the West, nineteen from the Central and ten from the Coastal areas."

"M. Mbida who was supported by three groups in the Assembly with the Coastal group in opposition, was reputed to have a measure of popularity when he formed his new Government in May 1957, but his popularity declined rapidly and the situation became worse within a few months of his resignation. . . . The immediate cause of his fall was a declaration of policy which his Democratic Group made at a Congress held on January 26 this year. At this meeting the Group announced that although the independence of the Cameroons was the aim to which it aspired, it was 'hazardous to fix a time limit within which they could choose independence'. The Group then proposed instead a ten-year programme of development 'at the end of which the situation could be re-assessed'. The Group decided not to include the issue of reunification of the French with the British Cameroons in its programme, suggesting instead that each sector should develop along its own lines and that the question of reunification 'will only be studied in the event of a united states of Black Africa'. Reaffirming that the Cameroons 'will have to enter the French Union', the Group also urged that 'democratization of the North' was a pre-requisite to independence."

"This declaration was the signal sign for trouble. The Northern Group (who had five out of eight Ministers in the Government) did not accept this policy and asked its Ministers and one parliamentary secretary to resign. On his seeking a vote of confidence in the Legislative Assembly the Premier, M. Mbida, was faced with three motions of censure, one from each group, and had to resign. M. Ahidjo was then asked to form a new Government."

"On his assumption of office as Prime Minister, M. Ahidjo formed a National Government in which all four legal groups are represented. M. Soppo Priso's group, which was in opposition during M. Mbida's régime, has two Ministers in the present government of eight Ministers, so that, in effect, there is no official Opposition in the House, save that which might be formed by M. Mbida (who refused an offer of Ministerial appointment, but a member of whose group has agreed to become a Minister). At his investiture in mid-February the new Prime Minister decried political assassinations which had introduced a reign of terror in certain parts of the territory. . . .

"Speaking on 'Cameroons unity', the Prime Minister said: 'One Cameroons is still the ardent desire of all Cameroonians.' This, he suggested, could be realized through what was translated to me to mean 'an effective community of all Cameroonians' and through re-unification of the two Trust Territories ('A referendum on both sides will permit each section to express its desires'). On the issue of a Cameroons nation, he spoke of the Cameroons aspiring to 'effective independence in a reasonable time, such independence must cover all Cameroons', and asserted: 'Our primary task is to bring France to determine with us the conditions of our country's accession to effective independence.' Of co-operation with France, he agreed that 'association with France is necessary, even indispensable', but 'we cannot accept a bargain of duplicity'. 'The gift of independence, like that of autonomy,' he emphasized, 'should be gratis, based on confidence.' Declaring that 'inter-dependence presupposes dependence', the Prime Minister concluded: 'It is the (French) Cameroons people who should propose the relation between France and the Cameroons.' "

Portuguese Africa

Industrial Development

THE second six-year development plan for Angola, to start in 1959, will involve the expenditure of £90 million, chiefly on communications, irrigation and hydro-electrification and prospecting.

A new port is to be constructed at Tiger Bay, considered one of the best natural anchorages on the West African coast. A long-range plan to establish an aluminium plant with an annual output of about 50,000 tons is being hampered by lack of water-power. New industries which have been set up in Angola or for which construction has been authorized, include cement, paper pulp, tyres, batteries, industrial plastics and a new oil refinery at Luanda. (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 1958.)

Survey of Angola

Brian Parkes in the *Johannesburg Star* (March 7, 1958) said that although the mass of Africans in Angola lived in poverty with little hope and less prospects for the future, they were proud to call themselves Portuguese, for Angola, like the other overseas Portuguese possessions, is not overseas to them. It is just as much part of Portugal as is Lisbon.

Angola, with a population of 109,000 Whites, 30,000 half-castes, and 4,250,000 Blacks, had two sides: the integrated society made up of Portuguese, half-castes and *assimilados* (Black men whom the Portuguese consider sufficiently developed and cultured to cross over into White society and life) and the vast mass of the country's population—the Black men, women and children, referred to by the Portuguese simply and casually as "barbarians".

There was no colour bar but a strong economic and culture bar affecting both Black and White. Even the 30,000 half-castes and the 33,000 Africans who were *assimilados* came up against the economic bar. It operated also for the Whites, of whom 50 per cent could not read or write; about the same proportion as in Portugal itself.

The Government planned to settle 10,000 peasant families from Portugal. At Cela more than 400 such families have already been settled at a cost of £10,000 per family. They are forbidden to employ any Black labour, and do all their own manual work.

Of the majority of the Africans, "the barbarians", an official described by Mr. Parkes as Angola's equivalent of the Minister of Native Affairs

said: "The State could conscript them for six months' labour a year for work on the roads, the railways, the plantations—for anything. We feed them and clothe them. Of course we pay them. We pick them up, we use them, then we return them to where they came from. . . . We can transfer trouble-makers from one of our provinces to another, and we do so."

Mr. Parkes reported that there was an elaborate system of identity cards, pass books, sheaves of files of finger-prints and palm-prints, names of employers and the like, and added: "There is no doubt that their treatment is shocking. Floggings and beatings are the rule rather than the exception." Observers in Angola believe that it is the Government's treatment of the Blacks there that makes them flock across the borders into the Union and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland to work in the mines.

Spanish Africa

Frontier with Morocco¹

THE frontier between Spanish Sahara and southern Morocco was formally established after talks held in Portugal between the Spanish and Moroccan Foreign Ministers. Nearly 10,000 square miles of territory has been handed over to Morocco by Spain. Its most important settlement is Villa Bens. It is a typical strip of rough desert country over which roam some 6,000 people of nomadic tribes.

The Spanish newspaper *Ya* said that Spain, having now liquidated all her protectorate obligations, considered that henceforth her relations with Morocco should be on a good neighbour basis. (*The Times*, April 11, 1958.)

GENERAL

Primary Education

Commonwealth and Colonial Affairs (March 1958) discussed the magnitude of the educational problem in the colonies, which, it said, "will require a wizard to solve it". Figures for African education were:—

| Territory | Total Population | Percentage of elementary school age actually in school | Teachers trained | Teachers untrained | No. of additional teachers required for ratio of 40 pupils per teacher | Annual output of trained teachers |
|--------------------|------------------|--|------------------|--------------------|--|-----------------------------------|
| <i>West Africa</i> | | | | | | |
| Ghana | 4,691,000 | 59 | 6,200 | 11,000 | 6,300 | 1,650 |
| W. Nigeria | 6,500,000 | 62 | 5,899 | 20,764 | 5,837 | 2,300 |
| E. Nigeria | 7,600,000 | 40 | 7,000 | 14,000 | 16,500 | 2,500 |
| N. Nigeria | 18,000,000 | 5 | 3,288 | 2,950 | 83,762 | 420 |
| Sierra Leone | 2,100,000 | 12 | 907 | 471 | 9,122 | 130 |
| <i>East Africa</i> | | | | | | |
| Tanganyika | 8,300,000 | 21 | 6,570 | 30 | 33,400 | 1,150 |
| Uganda | 5,590,000 | 30 | 6,408 | 3,448 | 18,144 | 800 |
| Kenya | 6,150,000 | 32 | 4,726 | 2,541 | 25,483 | 1,250 |
| Nyasaland | 2,600,000 | 47 | 2,380 | 50 | 10,570 | 220 |
| N. Rhodesia | 2,180,000 | 55 | 4,244 | 398 | 4,358 | 470 |

University Education

Dr. R. S. Aitken, writing in *The Times* (April 18, 1958), gave the following details of the growth of University provision in British Africa:

| | Universities and university colleges | | Teaching and research staff named | | Number of full-time students | |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------|------|-----------------------------------|-------|------------------------------|--------|
| | 1939 | 1958 | 1939 | 1958 | 1939 | 1958 |
| Ghana | — | 1 | — | 120 | — | 320 |
| Nigeria | — | 1 | — | 140 | — | 560 |
| Rhodesia and Nyasaland | — | 1 | — | 30 | — | 70 |
| Union of South Africa | 5 | 10 | 800 | 1,800 | 8,000 | 21,000 |
| Uganda | — | 1 | — | 110 | — | 620 |

¹DIGEST IV, 6.

He added: "In nearly every country concerned the growing national spirit is demanding early independence for the university institutions, and early replacement of 'expatriate' staff by nationals. In the face of this, young teachers from the older parts of the Commonwealth will hesitate to accept appointments. Yet numbers of such teachers are needed in every case for many years to come; without them the early promise of these colleges and universities will wither. The best hope of securing them seems to lie in reinforcing the present system of permanent recruitment by a system of secondment, on a two- to five-year basis."

F.I.D.E.S.

The establishment of F.I.D.E.S., the Investment Fund for Economic and Social Development, in 1946 helped to strengthen the demand for political federation in French West Africa (A.O.F.). *West Africa* (April 26, 1958) described it as covering a wider range than the British Colonial Development and Welfare funds and providing an over-all plan for all the eight territories.

The "equipment" plans were designed to improve the infra-structure, the framework within which private investment would operate more profitably and efficiently. Whether intentionally, or otherwise, it has also provided the economic impetus to French Africa's rapid political advance and now colours the nature of demands for further political advance.

The territories with a total population of 19 million people received in the period 1947-57 public investment of 155,000 million francs C.F.A. (about £270 million). Of this total, 44,000 million francs C.F.A. were met out of territorial budgets and all the rest (72 per cent) out of French Metropolitan Funds. F.I.D.E.S. alone contributed 79,900 million francs C.F.A. Annual public investment has increased throughout the ten-year period, and is still increasing.

The use of F.I.D.E.S. was planned by a central committee in France advised by territorial committees with African representation. Their object was "to transform the territories into modern countries". New four-year development programmes have been drawn up for A.O.F. The territories themselves—the Ivory Coast excepted—have failed to accumulate development funds and must continue to rely on overseas investment for their economic development. They look now to Europe, especially the Common Market with its investment fund for overseas associated territories; and to international lending institutions, as well as to France. . . . The U.K.'s public investment in British Africa has not been as great as France's in A.O.F.

New Bill on Discrimination

Mr. Fenner Brockway, M.P., was given leave to introduce his Race Discrimination Bill which seeks to make certain racial or religious discrimination illegal in this country. This is the third Bill of the kind which Mr. Brockway has introduced. The first was talked out, and the second was counted out. Mr. Brockway explained that the Bill has now been amended to meet some of the objections voiced on previous occasions. He went on to counter the argument that racial discrimination is a matter for education rather than legislation. He thought that a distinction should be drawn between personal relationships and public relationships. The Bill did not seek to interfere with personal relationships but would cover discrimination in relation to lodging houses, for example, restaurants, dance halls, and places of entertainment. Other parts of the Bill, he explained, would cover the leasing for occupation of premises and employment, including such matters as promotion and rates of pay.

The *Manchester Guardian* (May 1, 1958) said it seemed unlikely that the Bill could progress very far.

Institute of Race Relations

An Institution of Race Relations has been formed in London. The chairman is Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders, formerly director of the London School of Economics. The director of the Institute is Mr. Philip Mason, who has been director of Studies in Race Relations at Chatham House, the Royal Institute of International Affairs. The function of the new institute will be the scientific and impartial study of relations between the races. (*Sunday Times*, April 20, 1958.)

"Under British Protection"

Writing to *The Times* (April 5, 1958) Mr. Christopher Shawcross, discussing incidents in Western Nigeria, Malaya, and the Caribbean, said they revealed that one of the vital facts was "the impossibility of creating, in two or three years, a cultured middle class from which African leaders and administrators will emerge. We the so-called British people and our Governments, are shuffling out of our duty after having, according to some, made a good thing for ourselves out of our colonies and protectorates or, according to others, for the indigenous inhabitants of those territories. Now we are throwing to the wolves these British (as I and many of them would prefer to designate) or British-protected people. 'Give us back our Gold Coast,' called Ghanaians. 'Down with Black Man's rule,' cried Nigerians in the recent riots. British-protected persons these Nigerians were and still are. Knowing, at first hand, what has happened to Ghanaians they want to retain British protection until they are able to protect themselves alike against internal tyranny and misrule as against foreign infiltration. They see the Sudanese left by us to the mercy of the Moscow-visiting firebrand. . . .

"Can this rot and renegation not be stopped? I assert that this question should be asked on behalf of the many millions of Coloured peoples in the former British Empire and for their future generations. Rightly or wrongly we have assumed or acquired some responsibility for them and we should be united in the protection of British men and women of all colours and creeds, so that, for example, those born in the Southern Cameroons are just as much British as Native Welshmen or nationalized immigrants from central Europe. If we shed our responsibility, whether in Cyprus, Malaya, Somaliland, Ghana, Rhodesia, or Honduras—to name a few—the title must be 'Black Outlook Bleak'. And those red parts of our geography globe will be in the red economically, then red with blood or Communism; and then—or sooner—black with despair."

In support Mr. P. T. Bauer (April 8, 1958) wrote: "In most British dependencies the last three decades have seen a vast extension of Government control and a resulting restriction of people's range of choice in the purchase of their requirements, the sale of their products, and in their opportunities of employment. The relevant measures include, among others, the establishment and extension of statutory monopolies in both internal and external trade; centralized direction of commercial and industrial activity; organization of so-called co-operative societies which are in fact officially sponsored and administered; greatly increased taxation; and the setting up of enterprises operated by Government and financed out of taxes. . . .

"Tightly controlled economies are thus, with a few exceptions, a major legacy of recent British colonial rule. These powers far exceed those of many traditional oligarchs and chiefs, of Civil Servants in earlier times, and indeed those of Ministers and their executives in this country. Political independence must not be mistaken for personal freedom. The great increase in man's power over man, especially in countries where large numbers are uninformed, illiterate and ineffective, much enriches the prizes and enhances the intensity of the struggle for power. It also promotes the establishment of totalitarian régimes; local politicians and their executives are being presented with a ready-made framework of a totalitarian State. Further curtailment of people's range of choice, and of their personal freedom, are all too probable legacies of recent colonial economic policy. . . .

"The dependencies progressed very rapidly under British rule, generally much faster than nearby independent areas; witness the progress of Hong Kong compared to the south China ports, Malaya to Thailand, Aden to Yemen and Ghana to Liberia. When British rule was established, the British economy was already far ahead of the economies of the countries which became dependencies. Further, the incomes and profits earned do not represent wealth extracted and transferred, but a return for services, a portion of the wealth created, which had not been there before. Generally, though not invariably, the profits were earned under substantially open door conditions, without denying the population access to more favourable terms.

"The Liberian spokesman in the General Assembly of the United Nations in March 1957, asked the people of Ghana not to look down on

the inferior economic achievement of Liberia but to remember that their greater prosperity reflected the benefits of colonial rule. This was a statement of exceptional insight and integrity, especially in view of the topic, the occasion and the place."

Sir Harold MacMichael (April 11, 1958) replied: "The causes of our troubles are plain enough—the desire of peoples to manage their own affairs in their own way, the clamour of 'educated' youths and personal ambition. But these impulses are inevitable and ineradicable by force or any other means. The problem thus becomes one of finding some way of mitigating the effects. At present rifts are being daily deepened, and the chances of solution made more remote by the perpetual barrage of criticism and recrimination in our Parliament and Press. No one in Cyprus or Africa, or anywhere else, is going to accept what one British party offers if they feel sure that they will get more from a successor party of different complexion. All are ready to take encouragement and stimulus from any views publicly or privately expressed by our elected representatives, however ignorant, misguided or undeserving of attention; and even the British administrator is hampered by the same underlying doubts and the lack of secure foundations on which to build or guide.

"And yet I doubt whether there has often been any really vital difference between the views of the more responsible members of the major parties. . . . In this matter of the Commonwealth it is too much to hope that they may be content to speak in public with more unanimity upon the major issues, and keep their minor differences about ways and means for discussion behind the scenes?"

Mr. P. C. Hodgson (April 22, 1958) added: "The colonial territories, like any other, can only be governed either with the consent of their inhabitants or by force. Few impartial observers can doubt that the consent which existed between the wars in the urban and coastal centres of West Africa had grown thin, or been withdrawn, some years ago, leaving no alternative, if Colonial Office government were to continue, to the exercise of force on a large and expensive scale. The allegiance of the up-country peasantry is much less certain, as it has not proved possible to give them a genuine opportunity of choice. Accustomed to guidance in local affairs from district commissioners, the convention that Civil Servants may not intervene in national politics has prevented their receiving such advice on questions embracing territorial constitutions. It can scarcely be otherwise, for district commissioners, being employed by, and answerable to, the territorial governments, must conform to the policies of those governments; increasingly this means conforming to the policies of indigenous political leaders.

"Once it be given that the people must have an opportunity of showing their consent to government by the machinery of the ballot box, there is little possibility that consent to Crown colony rule will be maintained. The Colonial Office organization cannot, under present conventions, enter the arena, and no local candidate can offer himself for election on the grounds that he and his party are not yet fit to govern, for not even a rural elector would vote for so diffident a person. Yet to deny an electoral system would be to postpone political advance indefinitely and to ensure that urban leaders stirred the rural population into the active withdrawal of consent to government. The conclusion is therefore foregone."

The Launching of F.A.M.A.¹

By Charles Kemp

The Foundation for Mutual Assistance South of the Sahara (F.A.M.A.) was officially inaugurated at Accra in February. Representatives from Belgium, France, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Ghana, Liberia, Portugal, the Union of South Africa, and the United Kingdom, and observers from the Scientific Council for Africa, Ethiopia, Italy, the United States of America, the United Nations, the U.N. Technical Assistance Board, F.A.O., U.N.E.S.C.O., W.H.O. and the I.L.O. were present.

Mr. L. S. Hawkins, the delegate for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland drew attention to aspects of the Constitution of F.A.M.A. which he said required special attention; amongst these were: (a) assistance provided by the help of F.A.M.A. would be on a bilateral basis with the

donors and recipients in direct contact. F.A.M.A.'s main functions would be to bring the parties together. (b) He said: "The basic idea of F.A.M.A. is that the Commission for Technical Assistance South of the Sahara Member Governments should be both recipients and donors." His country had always regarded itself as a recipient of conventional assistance. But, through F.A.M.A., it would also become a donor. . . . (c) F.A.M.A. was not to be a service for the exclusive use of Member Governments of C.C.T.A. Any donor country or organization would be free to ask for the services of F.A.M.A. to ensure the best utilization of what it had to offer. The territories in Africa South of the Sahara which are not members of C.C.T.A. would be able to benefit from F.A.M.A. as recipients.

The United Kingdom delegate said that F.A.M.A. was intended to supplement and not replace other channels of technical assistance. The U.K. had already given a large measure of technical assistance to the territories in Africa for which it was responsible. The purpose of the assistance which the U.K. will offer under the new foundation will be to extend its arrangements for mutual technical assistance to other countries in Africa not covered by present U.K. arrangements.

In his opening address the chairman, Mr. K. A. Gbedemah, said that "in addition to whatever aid we (in Ghana) are likely to get from this foundation, we shall look forward to the continuance of technical aid from the United Nations and its specialized agencies, as well as from individual members of the United Nations who are in a position to offer such aid".

Professor J. F. V. Philips, the observer for the Scientific Council for Africa (C.S.A.), suggested that C.S.A. and F.A.M.A. could aid member governments by a co-ordinated study of the following problems:

(1) The development of water for man, beast, crops, and power, in quantity, in quality and adequately distributed for all arid and semi-arid regions.

(2) Co-ordination of efforts to eradicate the tsetse fly, creator of sleeping sickness in man, and nagana in livestock, which still affected about three-fifths of tropical Africa.

(3) Bilharzia control, which, as irrigation expanded, was "a mighty task for the future".

(4) Communications—road, rail, port and air—demanded development if African production of crops and livestock was to be stimulated. In Ghana the opening up of feeder roads some years ago by the Government had certainly stimulated local farmers to produce more food for transport to points where it was urgently needed.

The representative of F.A.O. said that F.A.M.A. in Africa had often been compared with the Colombo Plan in South-East Asia, and the F.A.O. were prepared to co-operate with F.A.M.A. as they had done in the past and continued to do, with the Colombo Plan.

"It is for the purpose of assuming such responsibilities more effectively in Africa, within the framework of the assistance which we dispense directly, in conjunction with the U.N.T.A.B., and possibly of helping governments and bilateral organizations in the fields of our technical competency and within the framework of appropriate co-operation, that the F.A.O. Conference, last November, decided to create a Regional Office for Africa."

The observer from the United Nations declared that "The United Nations organizations are endeavouring to meet the requests of the governments (for technical assistance). They are seeking to co-ordinate their efforts in the forms and through the machinery approved by the governments. With the coming inauguration of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, and the establishment of a new Special Fund for technical assistance, we hope to expand the services offered." The representative of the I.L.O. spoke of the co-operation of the I.L.O. and C.C.T.A. in the Inter-African Labour Institute, and said that the I.L.O. would soon be considering concrete proposals for the development of technical assistance in Africa, and welcomed the establishment of F.A.M.A. The observer for the U.S.A. hoped that F.A.M.A. would turn out to be the sort of organization which would enable his country in the not too distant future to render some technical assistance in the area which it covered.

Mr. Robert Jones, Head of the South African delegation, thanked the

¹DIGEST V, 4.

Government of Ghana for "the hospitality of this modern and progressive city of Accra", and added, "I am confident that we who have assembled here will not only take away with us many happy memories of our stay, but that these friendly links will be constantly strengthened by the associations to be promoted by the Foundation for Mutual Assistance in Africa South of the Sahara which we are launching today."

Outlook for Africa

Newsweek (May 12, 1958) wrote: "Sixty prominent Americans—diplomats, educators, publishers and businessmen—met at Harriman, N.Y. (early in May), to focus attention on Africa. . . . At present, it's the world's largest underdeveloped area; in potential, however, the world's richest. . . .

"Africa today is in a race between diametrically opposed concepts of the future—the Afro-Asian approach, whose proponents, aided and abetted by Moscow, would like to see Coloured man pitted against White, and the Eurafican approach, whose advocates argue, convincingly, that Africa can't get along without Europe—and vice versa. . . .

"For the first time since World War II, there is more than a glimmer of hope that vast segments of the now-not-so-dark continent will by-pass the despotic nationalism that many thinking Africans believe has been the curse of the twentieth century—and go straight into 'interdependence', i.e. Eurafica. . . . But if West Africa appears headed for a close partnership with Western Europe, the future of East Africa remains clouded with uncertainty . . . (and) the farther south one travels, the darker the picture gets. After a promising start, the British-settler-ruled Central African Federation is reversing course. White supremacists have the upper hand and, as in South Africa, seem headed for serious trouble. . . .

"Other coming facts of African life: Tomorrow's Black Africa will be socialist. . . . (and) neutralist. . . . Soviet penetration, though negligible now, is only just getting under way: determined to get a higher education any way they can, African students are easy prey for Soviet scholarships. Tens of thousands of Africans are quitting the Christian faith every year: the Moslem religion, better equipped to fulfil African desires (e.g. polygamy) is taking up the slack—this is Nasser's chief hope for penetrating the continent. There will be struggles between Africa's feudal and progressive elements. . . .

"The U.S.'s stake is clear. Moderate régimes are getting established. They want to work with the West, not as members of a power bloc, but as economic partners. It's up to the West to make sure they remain in power. This will cost money, big money, and it will have to come from private enterprise as well as from the governments."

BOOK LIST

(Recent acquisitions to the Africa Bureau Library)

Bechuanaland Protectorate 1956. Annual Report by the Commonwealth Relations Office. H.M.S.O. (Price 6s.)

GRANT, GEORGE C. *The Liquidation of Adams College.* An account, by its Principal, of the enforced closing of one of the oldest and most famous African colleges in the Union. Foreword by Alan Paton.

HUNT, JAMES. *Europe and Africa—Can it be Partnership?* European Youth Campaign, London. A pamphlet analysing the relations between the Common Market countries and their overseas territories, and the effects the Market will have on Britain's colonial territories and the Commonwealth.

KAUNDA, KENNETH. *Dominion Status for Central Africa?* U.D.C. and M.C.F. The Africans' case against Federation, by the General Secretary of the African National Congress of Northern Rhodesia, with the British Labour Party's policy statement on Central Africa. (Price 9d.)

KIRK-GREENE, A. H. M. *Adamawa, Past and Present.* Published for the International African Institute by O.U.P. An historical approach to the development of the province. Foreword by Daryll Forde. (Price 35s.)

SAMPSON, ANTHONY. *The Treason Cage.* Heinemann. The story of the opposition to the racial policies of successive S.A. Governments which has reached a climax in the trial at the present time of ninety-one people of all races on charges of treason.

Soviet Colonialism. Labor Research Institute, N.Y. and Mexico City. A pamphlet on Soviet colonial expansion in central-eastern Europe.

STEIN, SYLVESTER. *Second-Class Taxi.* A lively novel about the pass laws and African nationalism in the Union, by a some-time editor of *Drum*. (Price 15s.)

Tunisia. Tunisian Government. An informative, magnificently illustrated book, published to commemorate Tunisia's attainment of independence.

Uganda 1957. Annual Report by the Colonial Office. H.M.S.O.

Uganda Protectorate, 1957 Statistical Abstract, with maps. H.M.S.O.

The Editor of the DIGEST does not necessarily endorse the views of correspondents

AFRICA BUREAU ACTIVITIES

MISS MARY BENSON has returned to London after fifteen months in Southern Africa. During this period Miss Benson was Secretary of the Treason Trial Defence Fund in Johannesburg for seven months and visited Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland. She also attended the Multi-Racial Conference last December (see DIGEST V, 4). Miss Benson reported on her experiences to the Annual Conference of the Africa Councils which was held in Leeds on April 12 and 13. Representatives from Birmingham, Bristol, Cambridge, Cardiff, Coventry, Darlington, Durham, Glasgow, Manchester, Swansea, Sheffield, West Riding, and the Africa Bureau attended. Mr. Oscar Kambona spoke on Tanganyika with particular reference to the policy of the Tanganyika African National Union and its demands for economic, social and political equality between the Africans and the other races in the territory. Professor Leo Kuper spoke on South Africa and emphasized that he had found an almost total condemnation of the *apartheid* policy amongst the people of Britain, and therefore he hoped that the British Government and people would do all that they could to make their views known to the South African Government and influence them to alter their policies on racial matters. On the evening of April 13 Lord Hemingford, Miss Benson, Rev. Michael Scott and Mr. Peter Kuenstler formed an "Any Questions" team and members of the audience asked questions on African issues. Dr. John Rex was in the chair.

Dr. Hastings Banda from Nyasaland has been a frequent visitor at the

Bureau in recent weeks. He and other representatives from Nyasaland are forming a delegation to the Colonial Secretary to put the views of those in Nyasaland who are demanding that their territory should secede from the Central African Federation.

The Rev. Andrew Doig and the Rev. Michael Scott addressed a day conference on Central Africa in Manchester, and Mr. Doig has also spoken in Bristol, Darlington, and Durham.

Mr. Oginga Odinga, M.L.C., one of the African members of the Kenya Legislative Council charged under the penal code (see p. 217), has been in London. He addressed meetings in London and Leeds at which collections were taken for the Kenya Defence Fund to assist those charged to meet the costs of their defence. Amongst the sponsors of this appeal were two members of the Africa Bureau Executive and Dr. John Rex of the West Riding Africa Council. Miss Benson is a Joint Treasurer of the Fund.

The Rev. Michael Scott has visited Geneva where he addressed an international forum, and Brussels where he spoke at a luncheon given by the United Nations Association and the League of Human Rights. He subsequently visited Paris to address a conference arranged by *Presence Africaine*. In addition he has addressed meetings on African questions in London, Bournemouth and Sevenoaks. Mrs. Thelma Philip has spoken on South African affairs at meetings in London, and Miss Benson spoke on her recent visit to South Africa in Cardiff.

